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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

RUSSIAN HISTORICAL CLAIMS TO AMUR, PRIMOR'YE SUBSTANTIATED

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII No 3 (Mar) 84 carries on pages 57-71 a 7,000-word article by A.I. Alekseyev and G.V. Melikhov entitled "The Exploration and Initial Development of the Amur Basin and the Primor'ye by Russians." The authors observe that the People's Republic of China is continuing its attempts to "justify" territorial claims to parts of the USSR, first made in 1964 by Mao Tsedung at a meeting with Japanese socialists. In 1974 a series of articles appeared, one of which ("Explorers of New Lands, or Predatory Invaders of China") represented an adjustment of earlier views.

"Today Chinese historians are trying to 'strengthen' their position with new statements. In their attempts to 'justify' territorial claims on USSR lands Chinese historians are doing everything in their power to find any sort of proof that these lands belong to China. This leads them to an erroneous interpretation of the sources, and frequently to outright falsification."

Most of the article is devoted to chronicling campaigns of exploration and settlement of the Amur Basin and Primorskiy Kray regions beginning in 1581 and concluding with the exploration and mapping expeditions of Yerofey Pavlovich Khabarov along the entire length of the Amur during the period 1649-1653.

CSO: 1800/380

NATIONAL

RSFSR AGRICULTURE SHORTCOMINGS NOTED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 84 p 1

[Unsigned article: "[Exploiting] The Potential of Agriculture"]

[Text] The ardent interest and unanimity with which the Soviet people responded to the Food Program approved by the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum are well known. The first steps to implement this program were the other day discussed broadly at the All-Union Economic Conference on the Problems of the Country's Agroindustrial Complex. Opening this conference, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized: "Our party regards concern for developing agriculture as not only an economic but also a primary socio-political task. We proceed from the premise that a highly developed and efficiently performing agroindustrial complex is a necessary condition for further improving the material welfare of the nation and streamlining the effectiveness of the entire national economy."

Huge capital investments and material resources have been allocated to this highly important sector of the economy. A mighty production and scientific-technical potential has been established on a scale serving serving to develop all agricultural sectors at an accelerated pace. The results of the year past testify to this very eloquently. The output of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the RSFSR, for example, was 5 billion rubles greater in that past year than annually, on the average, during the 10th 5-Year Plan. What is more, all of this increase in output was achieved owing to the increase in labor productivity.

It is highly important that the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are tangibly exploring ways of streamlining management. Outlays on production were reduced. Production cost at farms of Kuybyshev Oblast was reduced by 8.3 percent, and at farms of Mordovskaya ASSR, by 7.5 percent. On the whole, during that period production outlays on the agricultural branch of the RSFSR were reduced by 1.5 billion rubles.

The republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have fulfilled ahead of schedule the plans for sales of animal-husbandry output to the state. Compared with the preceding year, they delivered 864,000 more tons of cattle and poultry, 2.7

million more tons of milk and 905 million more eggs. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Belgorod, Moscow, Leningrad, Saratov, Tyumen and other oblasts coped successfully with fulfilling the plans of sales of all basic types of agricultural output to the state.

Last year the volume of socio-cultural construction in the countryside also grew markedly. Eleven million square meters of dwelling area were released for occupancy, which is 43 percent more than toward the end of the last year of the previous 5-year plan. Many schools, clubs and houses of culture were built, along with about 7,000 km of intra-farm roads.

For the country as a whole, for the first time in the last 9 years, all the republics coped with the plans for the procurement of the principal types of animal-husbandry output.

In a word, major changes have taken place in the agricultural sector of the economy. But that is only the beginning of the road. The general situation is not satisfactory. Here the only acceptable criterion of performance can be the fulfillment of the Food Program. But so far it still is not being implemented successfully everywhere. As was pointed out at the All-Union Economic Conference, output is rising slowly at a number of krais and oblasts of the RSFSR. For example, at the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Altay Krai, despite the growth in their resources, the production and procurements of grain and other products decreased during the current 5-year plan. Rostov Oblast has forfeited some of its advances. Although it exists under economic and natural-climate conditions similar to those of the other regions of the Non-Chernozem Zone, Yaroslavl Oblast displays indicators that are much lower than those of the neighboring Vladimir Oblast. There is no justification for this. The lag was permitted to occur chiefly owing to the low level of management, and it was also reflected in the results of the first 3 years of this 5-year plan. A large number of krais and oblasts will have to accomplish much more during the remaining 2 years than it did during the first 3 years. And yet what matters is not only repairing the omissions but also accomplishing the further growth envisaged in the plans.

The main road toward achieving the targets lies in intensification, in increasing the yield of the potential created in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This is linked to improving the performance of the agroindustrial associations and their entire organizational work, and also to elevating the level of the economic thinking of the cadre. Some managers view the process itself of intensification one-sidedly, reducing it to the accumulation of capital. Despite their extremely strong potential, certain oblasts achieved only insignificant improvements in their indicators.

A tremendous potential of the agricultural economy is harbored in a competent and efficient utilization of land. Currently in the RSFSR there are many kolkhozes and sovkhoses where high harvests or all crops are reaped. There is not one oblast, not one republic, not one krai where such remarkable examples are lacking. But the task lies in achieving on the basis of advanced knowhow a universal increase in output on every hectare of cropland. This precisely is promoted by the zonal scientific farming systems. According to reports from

the VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin], these systems have been applied on more than 22,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Much work has been done and its significance is great. In itself, a zonal farming system represents a specific plan for the intensification of farming. But this important cause is beset by quite a few delays. On some farms the structure of sowing areas is planned in advance and one or two changes have been made in agrotechnics, and this is considered as reason enough for reporting that the scientific system has been introduced, as is being done by the farms of Kalinin Oblast. Yet the harvests of grain, potatoes, flax and fodder crops there have been low. This logically raises the question of what kind of a scientific system is that if it produces such results?

Formalism in any matter is intolerable, particularly in agriculture where, owing to its specific features, it is not possible to remedy a mistake and rapidly repair an omission. If, owing to a careless and formal attitude toward work someone plants substandard seeds on a field or fails to apply mineral fertilizers, the results will be seen once the crop germinates, but by then it will be too late to correct the defect. Thus, the damage cannot be repaired until next year.

In general, work on land requires absolute honesty, competence, devotion and industriousness of everyone. The primary need is not for quantity but quality of work, with the end-result as the goal. This precisely is promoted by progressive methods for the organization of labor. Many years of experience have demonstrated the great effectiveness of the collective contract system. It is being successfully practiced in Glazunovskiy Rayon, Orel Oblast, and on farms of Belgorod Oblast.

But formalism penetrates there too, in that work. There still exist proponents of administrative pressure when introducing the collective contract system.

Agroindustrial associations have now been active for more than a year in oblasts and rayons. It is highly remarkable that most of them avail themselves competently and effectively of their rights and duties. They are focusing their attention on the basic problems of agricultural economics, on utilizing the experience gained in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and on the possibilities and potential for further increasing output. As a result, many RAPOs [rayon agroindustrial associations] have even now attained a high degree of coordination of the activities of all partners in the agroindustrial complex and are successfully accomplishing the paramount strategic objective of streamlining the effectiveness of agricultural production and intensively developing its branches. However, certain RAPO managers and councils are not completely aware of the purpose of the restructuring and their rights and possibilities. Not all have rid themselves of the old methods of administering. Sometimes a RAPO expert attempts to resolve problems in behalf of 30 or 40 kolkhoz or sovkhoz experts without considering their opinion. Outmoded views also are being held by certain procurement and processing personnel. As was pointed out at the All-Union Conference, they still attempt to impose administratively compartmentalized terms on the conditions for the acceptance of grain, vegetables, cattle and milk. Party committees counteract such measures and assess them in a principled manner, and sometimes punish the

culprits. But such shortcomings have not been completely eliminated. Not infrequently, administrative agencies disregard the decisions of RAPO councils. Such instances still are being tolerated by the RSFSR Ministry of Procurement.

Naturally, much here depends on the individual administrator. Most rayon agro-industrial associations are headed by competent organizers, principled and party-mindedly tenacious individuals. But still haste has been tolerated in certain rayons, the qualifications and competence of managerial personnel have not been investigated properly, and an insufficient number of competent and non-voluntarist administrators has been appointed to responsible posts, with unprincipled individuals being appointed in some cases. Assessing the qualifications of executives according to deeds rather than words is a party requirement that is not yet being met everywhere.

The toilers of agriculture are being helped by scientists to identify and exploit latent potential, and much has been done for the vigorous development of the agroindustrial complex. But life itself presents to science new and higher requirements. Unfortunately, science is still solving slowly certain problems.

Under the conditions of the intensification of agriculture and operation of new control bodies, the role of both party and Soviet organs has grown markedly. In many krays, oblasts and autonomous republics these organs display a businesslike and realistic approach to all economic problems. Owing to active support and astute guidance by party committees, many agroindustrial associations are solving all basic problems resourcefully and independently. But the old methods have not yet been completely outlived. In a number of cases the style of work of the new control bodies is characterized by excessive paperwork, red tape and parochialism.

In his speech at the February Plenum and at a meeting with workers of the CPSU Central Committee apparat, K. U. Chernenko especially stressed that the accomplishment of the tasks facing the country is directly dependent on elevating the level of guidance by the party. It is precisely the rural primary party organizations and rayon committees that are duty-bound these days to head the entire work to utilize the potential of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and provide a new impetus to the fruitful work to implement the Food Program.

1386

CSO: 1800/346

NATIONAL

POOR COORDINATION, MINISTRIES HINDER RAPO

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by D. Yarovoy, chairman of Znamya Lenina Kolkhoz, Mozdokskiy Rayon, North Osetian ASSR: "We Are the Majority in the Council: Rayon Agro-Industry: The Effect of Influence"]

[Text] I confess that I went to the first meeting of the rayon agro-industrial association (RAPO) council with no particular hope. A regular meeting, I thought. There are many of them in our rayon. I understand now that I was mistaken. I thought of this again after I read the articles "They Expect A Large One," "It Depends on Us," and "Where Authority Should Be Used" (PRAVDA 17 and 20 Dec 83). Both the achievements and the many errors in the work of agro-industrial associations, first of all, depend on us alone.

In the council, there are 32 of us who are managers of farms and organizations, and their staff members. Most of us are with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We very soon felt the difference between the agricultural administration and the agro-industrial association. Did anyone ask our opinion in the past? Orders and instructions were sent to the farms. Orders were issued for all kinds of purposes: when to start plowing, when to harvest the crops.

Today we have finished with petty responsibilities, and all important questions are considered by the RAPO council. If there is an objection or some doubt, we examine this together and make a decision in the interest of the farms.

Let us take our respected partners. They did not listen to the wishes of the kolkhoz chairman very carefully and pushed on him a large volume of services based on their plans. The RAPO council began in earnest to set aside intersectional ties. It was given great power. It is not by accident the Statute on the rayon agro-industrial association states that its council is an agency of state administration.

In particular, we were troubled by relations with the main partner, Sel'khoztekhnika. Based on the council's decision, a single technical service was established in the association. For its workers, the main index appears

to be not the number of repairs and not the sum of the turnover of merchandise, but the readiness of equipment on the farms.

The RAPO council also used its power to regulate economic relations of this organization with the farms. When we analyzed the cost of services and kolkhoz and sovkhos expenses, it turned out that the rayon sel'khoztekhnika thrives on the income they receive from the farms.

Recently, new valid rates were established. Overhead expenses were decreased to one half the original. This was not done casually but only after careful analysis of financial conditions of all interested enterprises.

The association council recommended regular meetings with specialists from the rayon engineering and technical service. Farm representatives and mechanics from the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika are carrying on timely negotiations for maintenance procedures. Things have been going better. Of course, there are still unresolved problems. They are frequently related to the fact that there is a lack of mutual understanding between the Ministry of Agriculture and the State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture of the autonomous republic.

The democratic collective nature of the RAPO council is particularly evident in the way decisions are made. There are nine active intersectorial commissions. They develop a draft of a particular document. This arrangement insures a proportional balance in the development of all the enterprises in the association.

For example, how were funds distributed for machines and material earlier? In a close circle, the directors of rayon agriculture administration assigned what to give and to whom. Now, the commission carefully studies the conditions in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and their financial resources. Consideration is given to the recovery of investments on one farm or another. Today, more machines are received by those who have a lower fixed capital.

I believe we have had great success with collective contracts. The rayon had the experience to master it. For example, at the Terek Sovkhoz and the 40 Let Oktyabrya Kolkhoz, they took several years to adapt to the new method. Of course, the RAPO council could have limited itself to general recommendations: that is, inculcate the experience of outstanding workers. But the association took a different path. Its economists, on the basis of the special features of each farm, prepared proposals for the transition to working on an unregulated basis (beznyadka). They submitted specific estimates. Of course, they took the ideas of machine operators and specialists into account. Corn raisers, producing sun flowers, and many farm laborers are now working completely under contract. It is these very cost accounting collectives who successfully met state targets last year, which was a dry year for us.

RAPO also made more effective decisions on routine questions. On some farms, equipment was freed up. Without losing time, it goes to assist some of those

who have fallen behind--the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Krasnyy Kizlyar Kolkhoz, and Khurikau Kolkhoz. The sowing was done at the optimum times, and the land, ploughed in autumn, was turned over.

Our long-range plans are also pretty good. We are planning to build a combine fodder plant at the Krasnaya Osetiya Kolkhoz. The council will distribute its output to the most needy farms.

Unquestionably, kolkhozes and sovkhoses are on the association's priority list. The majority, however, are not always able to solve a problem to their advantage. The partners, as we know, are subordinated to two authorities. And the departments do not always take RAPO into consideration; they do not always reorganize their work to meet current needs.

Take the seemingly clear-cut question of centralized funds. The Statute on RAPO and other documents secured the right of associations to establish them. It is a dependable economic lever in the hands of the council. The rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses transfer their funds to the RAPO "money box." The partners do it differently. The PMK [mobile mechanized column] of the Sevostinmezkhkolkhozstroy Association has a profit of hundreds of thousands of rubles. Yet, the builders do not consider the farm's interests and refuse to make payments into centralized funds. And they are not alone; many other organizations behave in the same manner. It appears that they were not instructed by their departments to transfer part of their financial resources to the association.

Relations between farms and product processors are not easily established. Managers of the dairy and the meat combine are also part of the council. Until it affects departmental interests, they support a particular innovation. As soon as the council makes a decision to make them reorganize an operation or meet the farms half-way, there is friction. In spite of their opposition, the RAPO council has organized the centralized shipment of milk from the farms.

The meat combine does not wish to change to this direct relationship, however. As yet, the RAPO council cannot find a common language with the republic Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry. And turning over the cattle is the entire issue. All this leads to loss of products, of course.

So far, the agrochemical service is not involved in our concerns. Its facilities are limited, yet it attempts to do everything. Would it not be better to provide comprehensive services to the farms with unstable economics from the beginning. Also, it is difficult not to have an agro-chemical laboratory in the rayon. It takes years to "wring" cartograms out of the North Caucasus Scientific Research Institute of Mountain and Foothill Agriculture.

Frequently it happens like this. A partner is willing to accept and carry out the decision of the RAPO council, but...it is impeded by orders from a higher department. More than once, we have been confronted with the fact that our autonomous republic's ministries have not yet discarded some outdated

orders and accepted new, appropriate party and government documents on the improving relations between agriculture and other industries. This is where RAPO has great difficulty.

Members of the association council continuously sense the party raykom's support. They /raykom leaders/ do not provide us with solutions to our minor needs but help us determine the main directions and improve our work style and methods. The raykom does not now hold meetings on production issues only, as it did earlier. Production decisions are entrusted to us, the council of the agro-industrial association. We are now working, in a friendly and cooperative manner, on the fulfillment of the decisions made at the December (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Of course, not everyone has managed to rid himself of old habits. Mental inertia is still felt. Not infrequently, workers of other republic organizations turn to the raykom with problems and not to RAPO.

We hope that all these difficulties will soon be surmounted, and the organizations serving the rural sector will begin to work in the interest of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to engage in strengthening the economics of agricultural production. As for us, the members of RAPO council, much remains to be done to insure that RAPO functions as one organism.

12598

CSO: 1800/264

NATIONAL

BASIC INSTRUCTIONS TO AGITATORS ON COUNTERPROPAGANDA

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 7, 1984 (signed to press 11 Mar 84) pp 55-58

[Article by Ye. A. Nozhin: "To the Agitator On Counterpropaganda"]

[Text] Today the work of any party activist, agitator, political information specialist, or commentator is performed under conditions of the increased acuity in the international situation and continuous ideological subversion carried out by our class enemy against Soviet citizens. What are the peculiarities of agitational, propaganda activities under these conditions? How does one guarantee the high level of the statements made to the workers? In order to answer these and many other questions from the readers, our magazine is opening up a new section. It is being conducted by Doctor of Philological Sciences, professor at the Department of Ideological Work, Academy of Social Sciences under CPSU Central Committee, Ye. A. Nozhin. We now give the floor to him.

Obviously, it would be best to begin a discussion about counterpropaganda with a description of the peculiarities of the present-day ideological struggle.

The first peculiarity lies in its sharp aggravation. Wherein lies the reason for this aggravation? The steady narrowing of the sphere of dominance of capitalism, the further deepening of its overall crisis, the intensification of the class struggle, the increase in the imperialistic contradictions -- all these factors operate upon the policy of imperialism, encourage it to undertake dangerous adventurism, and gives rise to delirious plans for "the annihilation of socialism as a sociopolitical system" (this is not a propaganda formula, but a quotation from an official Washington document!). While placing emphasis on the attainment of nuclear supremacy and upon the unrestrained arms race, the United States and the NATO countries have simultaneously changed over to unprecedented ideological attacks upon socialism and upon Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The second peculiarity is that, thanks to the all-pervasive means of mass propaganda and information, the front in the ideological combat today runs through the entire world. The class enemy, using the latest technical means, is

not above using literally anything, up to and including fabricated hostile rumors and "political" anecdotes. A real radio warfare is being waged against the socialist countries. Broadcasts in the languages of the peoples of the USSR and the socialist countries are being transmitted by more than 40 radio stations, including Voice of America, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, BBC, Deutsche Welle, the radio systems of Canada, Israel, Sweden, etc.

As R. Reagan stated in February 1983, the Washington administration "does not have any more important foreign-policy initiative" than the further intensification of the work carried out by the subversive radio stations.

The third peculiarity of the present-day ideological struggle is the changeover of imperialism along the entire front toward "psychological warfare" against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Frequently people ask: wherein lie the peculiarities of "psychological warfare"? Wherein lies its difference as compared with the ideological struggle? There are substantial differences between the struggle of ideas and "psychological warfare." Marxist-Leninists understand the ideological struggle as a debate between different social systems, as a struggle for the world's public opinion. But "psychological warfare" is the rejection of that honest debate. The "psychological warfare" of imperialism is the totality of the ideological subversion, the system of the political and other pressure upon the USSR and the countries in the socialist community, the system of massive processing of the awareness of people by means of various kinds of misinformation. Soviet citizens must be completely aware that the efforts of the people engaged in ideological subversion are directed at undermining the confidence that the workers in the socialist countries have in the rightness of the ideas of communism. It must be remembered that "psychological warfare" today is an inseparable part of the military and political plans of the imperialistic powers, the crusade against socialism that is headed by the United States. "Psychological warfare" is intended to undermine the moral and political unity of the peoples of the USSR and the other socialist countries, to undermine our economic development, to discredit socialism as a political system, and to deceive world public opinion, in particular, by the myth concerning the "Soviet military threat." That is why it is necessary to set up a reliable screen against the cold winds of "psychological warfare."

". . . It is necessary to extend broadly the offensive counterpropaganda work not only on the international scene, but also within the country," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "The party committee must be completely aware of what the opponent is attempting to insinuate into our society, in what form, and by what channels, and to give a prompt and conclusive rebuff to his attempts."

Of course, socialist reality, in and of itself, exerts a powerful effect upon a person's spiritual world. However, passivity and omissions in political-indoctrinational work and in counterpropaganda activity lead to a situation in which the opponent succeeds in exerting an influence upon a certain segment, albeit small, of Soviet citizens.

Counterpropaganda is the uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology and subversive propaganda. In the system of the ideological activities of the CPSU it occupies a special place, being organically part of the content of party

propaganda and political agitation, and it interacts and combines with them. Like ideological work as a whole, counterpropaganda is a job for the entire party, for every Communist. Therefore any warrior on the ideological front -- an agitator, political information specialist, or commentator -- is obliged to be a counterpropagandist. The ability, in a well-argued manner, to oppose to bourgeois propaganda the party's point of view, to comment on the events that are occurring, and to refute false rumors -- all these are an organic part of agitational and propaganda skill.

As was pointed out by the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "we need a well thought-out, single system of counterpropaganda -- one that is dynamic and effective." The unity of this system is guaranteed by the purposeful activities of all the party links, down to and including the primary party organizations in the labor collectives and at the place of residence.

After the June Plenum of the Central Committee, there was an intensification of the ideological acuity, the counterpropaganda direction of the materials printed in our press and broadcast over television and radio. The need for the providing of active countereffect to the ideological opponent is being taken into consideration more and more in the activities of the system of higher, middle, and occupational education. The indoctrination of communist conviction in young people, the bringing of young people into closer contact with conscious labor, the development in them of a sense of participation in the affairs of the entire nation, and their readiness to defend the socialist Homeland are in the center of attention of the Leninist Komsomol.

There has been increased attention toward the problem of the political indoctrination of the workers by the local party committees. They consider counterpropaganda as one of the important spheres of their activity, and strive to carry it out competently, consistently, with a consideration of the specific situation and the degree of influence exerted by bourgeois propaganda upon various groups of the population. The system of party enlightenment, economic education, propaganda, agitation, and the training of cadres of party activists is also constructed accordingly.

In counterpropaganda one sees the combination of the ability of the ideological cadres to wage well-argued polemics against bourgeois concepts and views (theoretical struggle) and the ability to give a firm rebuff to unabashed anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, to disrupt any ideological subversion being carried out by the class enemy. The goal of counterpropaganda is to indoctrinate in people an ideological immunity, a sense of class irreconcilability with respect to bourgeois propaganda.

The factor that has been and continues to be the chief one is the formation of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist political philosophy. As was noted at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is especially important to give a practical direction to the training, to eradicate any dogmatism or formalism, to train the Communists and the workers to be conscious political warriors who are able independently to evaluate the social phenomena and to wage well-argued polemics against any ideological opponent. Ideological immunity is also formed on the basis of a sense of class spirit, Soviet patriotism, and pride in one's Motherland, as well as a thorough understanding by every Soviet

citizen of the hostile essence of "psychological warfare" as a cover for the criminal military and political plans of imperialism and the sly methods and means of its subversive activity. It is also important to demonstrate the close interrelation that the opponent's ideological diversions have with economic and political provocations, espionage, etc.

The essence of our attitude toward bourgeois propaganda was formulated with the maximum amount of precision by V. I. Lenin as long ago as November 1917. Explaining the need, under the conditions of the victory of socialism in Russia, for the decisive struggle against the counterrevolutionary press, he said, ". . . We cannot add to Kaledin's bombs the bombs of lies" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 54).

Today the nuclear missiles of imperialism are intended for the physical annihilation of the socialist countries and peoples, and each "bomb of lies" is directed at breaking us spiritually. Hence it is clear that we must be concerned about indoctrinating people with political vigilance and class hatred with respect to imperialism. And the indoctrination of those qualities should begin in early school.

It is no secret that sometimes the level of education or informational knowledge among a certain part of our young people lives side by side with political naivete. A troubling phenomenon is the tardy civic development, the striving to stand out from the others not because of one's knowledge or industriousness, but because of imaginary originality, or by the imitation of Western "culture." Some young people, when tuning in on a foreign broadcast, think approximately this way: I've read a newspaper, I've watched television, and now I'll listen to what "they" are saying. I'll form both opinions, and that way I'll get an objective picture. . . But that "approach" is precisely a manifestation of political naivete and immaturity: it is impossible to make falsehood match up with truth. Not a single word on the air waves "from the other side" is spoken without a purpose that has a class definition, as a rule, a purpose of carrying out ideological subversion, although that purpose is slyly camouflaged. Not a single word is spoken without counting on the producing of a demoralizing effect upon anyone who even accidentally tunes in on the hostile wave length. Voice of America and Radio Liberty do not spend tens and hundreds of millions for the purpose of entertaining Soviet citizens, informing them about various events, or raising their cultural level.

The ideological diversions are carried out in an increasingly more differentiated manner. The bourgeois propagandists seek an "approach" to literally all social groups. In a conversation with workers, the emphasis is made on the advertising of the "trade-union freedoms" in the capitalist world. They describe to the kolkhoz peasantry the imaginary advantages of private ownership, the managing of the agriculture with individual farms. Young people are seduced by the statement that "anything goes," and by the imaginary universal prosperity, etc.

At the All-Union Conference on Scientific Practice in Tallinn (October 1982) it was stated that the residents of the city had suddenly begun to receive provocative leaflets: "If you are in favor of justice and democracy, take part in

a strike in the form of a 'quiet half-hour,' beginning on 1 December. . . ." The leaflets were accompanied by the appeal, "Read this and pass it on to someone else." The subversive radio stations, acting in chorus, advertised that action, falsely asserting that a "very large strike" was being prepared in Soviet Estonia. That vicious venture, of course, came to a crashing defeat when it came up against the organizational spirit and the moral-political unity of the workers of Soviet Estonia. Fabrications like this are transmitted over the air waves every day.

An important area for indoctrinating the new person is the active, purposeful formation of the circle of his interests, the raising of his cultural level. For the most part, Soviet citizens work honestly, with all their heart and soul, and they rightfully and intelligently enjoy various blessings. But, as was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, we also have among us people who attempt to give just a little bit less, but to grab just a little bit more from the government. It is precisely on the soil of psychology like that that one sees the manifestation of selfishness and philistinism, acquisitiveness, and indifference toward the concerns and matters of the nation. It is precisely people like those who most frequently become the object upon whom the ideological diversions have an effect, and it is precisely here that they sometimes find the desired response. When combatting the people with absolutely no morality, the activists in agitation and all the Communists cannot close their eyes to the fact that a number of undesirable phenomena occur not without the influence of bourgeois propaganda.

The ideological struggle is carried out not abstractly, but around extremely concrete problems that agitate the masses of the people. These are, first of all, the problems of war and peace, the way of life, the historical prospects, the rights of man, such vitally important questions as the preservation of the environment, etc. In the approach to their resolution one sees the graphic revelation of the advantages of the socialist system and the bankruptcy of the capitalist system, despite the lies and slander that the ideological opponent uses so lavishly.

The class enemy actively accepts as standard equipment bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, neofascism, and clerical anticommunism, attempting by various methods to insinuate his ideas.

Every agitator must know Lenin's advice about how to carry out counterpropaganda and must follow that advice in his work.

In his book "Chto delat'?" [What Is To Be Done?] V. I. Lenin formulated one of the leading principles of the ideological struggle -- the principle of aggressiveness. "We are accustomed," he wrote, "to respond to attacks not by defending, but by counterattacking" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 6, p 91). The steady implementation of that principle in any statement made by an agitator is especially important today. We do not have any justifications for occupying a defensive position for even a single fundamental question, the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out.

The uncompromising nature and continuing of the ideological struggle against hostile influence, a class approach that contributes to the decisive revelation of

the falsifications of the ideological opponent -- those are the inseparable principles of counterpropaganda. Vladimir Il'ich required the unceasing struggle against all kinds of bourgeois ideology, no matter in what fashionable or bright uniforms that ideology bedecked itself (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 6, p 269). "Deception," he pointed out, "can be correctly understood only by ascertaining its class roots and its class significance" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 34, p 39). Today it is necessary untiringly to recall the remarkable Leninist words to the effect that "people have always been and always will be stupid little victims of deception and self-deception in politics, until they learn to discern behind any moral, religious, political, or social phrases, assertions, and promises the interests of various classes" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, pp 23, 47).

The convincing criticism of capitalist reality is a time-tested method for counteracting bourgeois influence. V. I. Lenin wrote that it is necessary to learn how to expose the "viciousness of imperialism," and that will set the workers against it (see, V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 6, p 71). It is important to wage the fight against imperialism from positions that are invulnerable for it -- therein lies one of the basic methodological principles of counterpropaganda. It is necessary efficiently and convincingly to reveal the sins of capitalism as a system of exploitation, oppression, and coercion, and to demonstrate with the use of actual examples, and the specific fates of people, the meaning of mass unemployment, hopeless poverty, and the bloody crimes that the imperialistic bourgeoisie engages in when a real threat to its dominance is created.

The tremendous advantages of socialism become especially tangible if the comparison is done in the entire set of economic, social, legal, and moral-ethical norms, if it is based on the well-known Leninist formula concerning the chief goal of socialism -- ". . . the guaranteeing of the complete welfare and free, complete development of all members of society" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 6, p 232). In the powerful aggressive movement of the Soviet Country it is necessary to know how to demonstrate the material and spiritual growth of the family and the person, explaining that the further reinforcement of our Motherland's economic and defensive might is inseparably linked with the labor contribution made by each of us.

V. I. Lenin considered counterpropaganda to be one of the strongest means of exerting an ideological effect. Posing the task of openly unmasking bourgeois propaganda, of "catching the bourgeoisie with words," of catching it by the arm, he taught how to do that skillfully, with a consideration of the specific conditions and peculiarities of the historical moment. The polemic nature was always a brilliant feature of Lenin's style -- the style of the ideological warrior, scientist, and revolutionary. In strict, well-argued polemics he saw a means of dethroning the ideological opponent, of proving the truth, and expanding the ideological influence upon the masses. But if the class opponent changes over to provocational methods of lies and deception with the purpose of "outshouting" us, of preventing people from hearing the truth, and spewing out a constant stream of invective and shouts" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 217), then it does no good to wage a honest debate with him. In this instance Lenin taught us not to attempt to "refute every piece of nonsense

as soon as it pokes its head up" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 24, p 241). Any propaganda tricks, even the shrewdest ones, cease to operate as soon as their motives, their deceptive technique, become clear. When revealing the false basis of the latest in the series of ideological diversions, it is necessary to develop in people a political sense, a class approach, the ability independently to detect the deception, and to help Soviet people -- that is the statement made in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Indoctrinational Work" -- the recognizing of the entire falsity of that slanderous propaganda, and the use of clear, concrete, and convincing forms to unmask its sly methods.

Irreconcilability toward the class enemy, and a clear political position in correspondence-type polemics with the opponent, in and of themselves carry an ideological and emotional charge and exert a powerful indoctrinational effect.

The thorough knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and policy of the CPSU, political economics, and questions of law, the outstanding knowledge of the essence of the methods used by the enemy, high political vigilance, adherence to ideological principles, the rapidity and precision of reaction, agitator's skill, and the mastery of the methodology of ideological counteraction -- those are the qualities that distinguish the political warrior in our party.

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NATIONAL

MARRIAGE TO FOREIGNERS 'LEADS TO HEARTBREAK'

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 7, 1984 (signed to press 11 Mar 84) pp 40-41

[Article by Alla Osadchaya: "When That Which Is Most Dear Is Lost"]

[Text] It sometimes happens that Soviet citizens get married to foreigners who are living in bourgeois countries. Is there any information about how their fates turn out? Do they find happiness in an alien world?

L. Maksimovich, Moscow

Soviet women who have married foreigners are living in more than a hundred countries. And the Soviet government has not rejected them. The law indicates that the entrance into matrimony of a male or female citizen of the USSR with a person of foreign citizenship, or a person without citizenship, or the dissolution of the marriage, does not result in any change in the citizenship of the spouses. The acquisition or loss of Soviet citizenship by one of the spouses does not result in the change of the citizenship of the other spouse. Moreover, the law indicates that the citizenship of any children born abroad, when one of the parents is a citizen of the USSR, is determined according to the wishes of the parents. And most of the women who take advantage of that opportunity, give their children Soviet citizenship.

But let's be frank: we must admit that some people have traveled to the West not to follow their husbands, but to follow a spectre, a mirage -- in the hope of getting to the "land of milk and honey" in the "free and rich West, the society of equal opportunities and universal prosperity," because it is in precisely that form that the bourgeois society is shamelessly depicted each and every day by Western propaganda.

Many of those who have found themselves in the West quickly encountered the real-life situation, and tasted the "delights" of bourgeois society, its numerous "freedoms" and rights. This is what they write about it in their letters back to their Homeland:

"It's absolutely terrifying to be kept from working! When that happens, you find yourself without an apartment -- you don't have any money to pay rent with. And just imagine what happens when, in addition to everything else, a person

becomes sick," Ye. O. writes from France. "What to do? Where can one get the money to pay for the doctor, the clinic, the medicine? Those are things that we did not have to think about at all in the Soviet Union, when we accepted the blessings from the government as something that was our due."

But the crux of the matter is not only in the material aspect. Sometimes one encounters among foreign countrywomen people who are well provided for. But it is not always possible for them to adapt to a bourgeois world that is alien to them. Speaking about this, Nenela Petrovna Lavaze, in Australia, tells young women: "We were deceived by western propaganda and we exchanged our happiness in Soviet life for an illusion, for illusory happiness. We ourselves are to blame. We punished ourselves. . ."

In N. Lavaze's letter one can trace a pronounced social aspect. She writes that all one has to do is visit a capitalist country and one is convinced that that "paradise" is invented. Instead of the luxury in the so-called free world, you see, for example, dirty, sick children running after adults, asking them for a handout. Are we really to believe that you can see things like that in the Soviet Union?

"Often I remember Soviet kindergartens and day-care centers. Now, that's luxury! Here in England, the government has absolutely nothing to do with this question. Every now and then, one of the women, showing her individual initiative, will take our children as a group. And where does she take them? Frequently to a church hall. There's no place else to go. We bring their toys and eating utensils from home for them. . . Do the women in Soviet Union ever have to think about things like this?" Lorina Aggrey writes in her letter from England.

For many people abroad, the question of life rests upon the search for work. And that is not only because work is needed in order to earn their daily bread. For most of the Soviet women, a typical feature is their striving for an active way of life. It is a feature that is a consequence of indoctrination in our socialist society, where labor becomes not only necessary for the sake of one's daily bread, but also a means of self-assertion, the absolutely primary vital necessity, without which a person cannot think of himself or herself as a person, cannot think of his or her life.

The problem of search for work abroad is an especially acute one for young people. This is what Liya Avenirova writes about her daughter's future:

"What is awaiting her in England? This year she graduated from school. And, of course, she had to go to work: we don't have any money for her to continue her education. For the time being Liza is not doing anything. She cannot find a job. And that is the most frightening thing. Don't think that we are picking and choosing from among various possibilities or exaggerating the situation. Unemployment in England is a sign of life in our time. It is a topic that people write about, talk about, and debate in Parliament, but nothing comes of it."

Many women who now are located far away, when analyzing their actions, judge themselves strictly, saying, "We are guilty to our Motherland. I am perfectly

aware of that," N. A. writes from Cyprus, "but believe me, I've already been punished with many grievous sighs! There are, of course, among us also those people who are interested only in pretty finery, but it seems to me that they are incapable of experiencing anything. They do not deserve at all to have others think or talk about them. They left their homeland, and fine! the air will now be cleaner there. But most of us are not like that. Most of us left to be with our husbands, we left because of love, and people must understand that. Because people will do anything for the sake of love, especially when one is young, when one does not think very much, when it seems that all life's joys still lie ahead. But when the fog lifts and you begin to think carefully about it. . . I would give anything to be able to correct my mistake, to return home. But how can I return now?"

This is what women who at one time risked their lives on taking a rash step say from the height of their experience and the years that they have lived about the fact that, by leaving one's Homeland, a person makes a mistake that is sometimes simply irreparable.

"A thousand times I repeat to Soviet girls: think about it, and think about it again, before you leave. . . Your good frame of mind, your prosperity -- everything is temporary. Your being blinded by the West will disappear quickly. The brightly colored finery that at first confuses your vision will quickly lose its luster. And it will be replaced by emptiness and homesickness. I assure you: no one has and no one will ever have a beautiful life in an alien country. And when love passes by, you will learn that only your Homeland remains always with you. I also censure myself for having remained at one time in the West. Although, I tell myself, where could I have returned then? My village was burned down, my parents had perished. . . Ol'ga Gushchina, Belgium."

In these confession-type letters there is no literary or journalistic invention (and even if one wanted to invent anything, one could not without having experienced all this oneself). Letters like this are being written to one's family members and friends, to the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, and to the institutes where the writers used to work. And in almost every letter the personal tragedy, the broken dreams, the loneliness, the homesickness, and the sense of one's needlessness in a world that is alien to them. All these confessions are by people whose dreams have been shattered. All the letters quoted are genuine. The authors of the letters by no means have been exaggerating the situation or attempting to paint black their life in a foreign country, or their own lives. Each of them has her problems, her joys, and her difficulties. Nevertheless in almost every letter there arises the question: how can I go on living? How should I live and for what purpose? What will happen to the children? And behind those questions there always follows a bitter reproach directed at themselves: what have I done? Why did I leave? And a warning to others: think it over a thousand time before you leave. . .

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NATIONAL

DIMENSIONS, ROOTS, FAILURES IN COMBATTING ALCOHOL ABUSE DISCUSSED

Moscow SOVetskaya Rossiya in Russian 13, 14 Mar 84

[Article by B. Levin, doctor of economic sciences and M. Levin, Journalist:
"A Sociologist Looks at the Issue: To Know In Order to Overcome (13 Mar)";
"A Sociologist Looks at the Issue: No Amateur Approaches (14 Mar)"]

[13 Mar 84 p 2]

[Text] Everybody today agrees that we must wage a relentless struggle against drunkenness. Nevertheless, all the efforts so far undertaken have met with no success. Also not very dependable is the starting platform of that struggle--society's awareness about the current alcohol situation.

There are three groups of indicators that illustrate the acuteness and the scope of drunkenness in this or that country. The first is the volume and structure of per capita alcohol consumption, the second--the type of behavior that stems from the intemperate consumption of alcohol and the third--the losses inflicted on the economy and the society by drunkenness.

The volume of alcoholic beverages produced in a country and their per capita consumption by the population in liters of absolute alcohol (pure spirits) is the simplest and most accessible indicator, and a very important one too. It must, however, be noted that an accurate computation of the level of consumption is, for a number of reasons, impossible. We all know that there are people who make wine and distill vodka in the home. Another snag is the fact that alcoholics have no qualms about drinking spirits produced by industry for use in the national economy and the health services.

But difficult as it is to compute the per capita consumption of alcohol, it is even more difficult to utilize this data. You have to know not only how much the public drinks, but what it drinks and even how it drinks,

Three groups of countries can be singled out in this respect: 1. Those which for the most part drink wine and which lead the field in per capita consumption of absolute alcohol; 2. Countries where the population's favorite beverage is beer; 3. Countries where they prefer hard liquor, including, of course, vodka, as well as whiskey, gin, cognac and many others.

Per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages
in a number of developed countries (in liters
of 100% alcohol)

Countries	Total	Hard Liquor	Wine	Beer
France	16.9	2.7	102.0	40.3
Italy	13.9	2.0	111.0	16.6
Switzerland	11.5	2.1	51.0	74.8
CSSR	9.0	2.6	14.0	140.0
Canada	8.8	2.6	7.8	85.6
USSR	8.5	4.2	25.9	22.9
USA	8.2	3.2	12.1	86.3
Finland	6.4	3.4	4.5	52.8

From the statistical data presented in the above table it is easy to identify these three groups. The top slots are occupied by representatives of Southern Europe headed by France, the queen of winemaking and wine drinking and a clear front runner in the total consumption of all beverages evaluated in units of pure spirits. The leaders are followed by countries that prefer beer alcohol. Among these are West Germany, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia which "compete" for the top world position. Next come states with a vodka tradition of alcohol consumption, including the Soviet Union.

A word about the situation that has developed in our country. The share of wine and beer in the overall consumption of alcoholic beverages is growing rapidly. Sometimes this is heralded, if not as a progressive tendency, at the very least as a positive one, because it must lead to a reduction in the share of vodka and related products. But even a minimally serious look into the tendency's manifestations will immediately reveal that in reality its impact promises nothing but trouble and a further deterioration in the alcohol situation, which is far from ideal as it is. In point of fact, wine and beer are imbibed in our country not INSTEAD OF but TOGETHER WITH vodka. The abundant and uneven intake of vodka is gradually being augmented by an even, though not yet a record level consumption of less concentrated beverages.

The view that wine and beer have a wholesome effect is completely erroneous for other reasons as well. What counts is the type of cultural soil into which the drinking traditions of other peoples are transplanted. It would be naive to imagine that the centuries-old winemaking and wine drinking culture of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal is possible in our country, with the exception of Armenia, Georgia and Moldavia. These illusions are sheltered by the fact, for example, that the increment in our wine production consists of low-quality fortified brands (types of port, vermouth, etc.) which in addition to their well-known ability to "sledgehammer" possess other harmful properties as well.

What has been said above about wine is applicable to beer too. Moreover, there are some additional grounds for pessimism about the beer boom. Foreign experience, and to a certain extent our own, demonstrates that the beer [drinking] culture can mushroom at a very rapid rate indeed. All that needs be done is to install the needed facilities at beerbrewing plants. Unlike the case with winemaking, this is easily done. The taste for this beverage can be cultivated with little effort and in no time at all. However, the fad for the weakest and seemingly the safest of beverages promises nothing good. Statistics from countries which have outstripped all others in this field indicate that a sizable part of their population is always, or nearly always, a little (maybe just barely) tipsy. So it would be best not to seek 'veritas' in beer either, nor pin our hopes on it in the matter of eliminating drunkenness.

The consumption indicator is closely related to the level of alcohol sales. A look at the commodity structure of our retail trade reveals that alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages make up a very significant and continuously expanding part of that trade--about one third of food sales and one sixth of overall commodity turnover.

It is certainly not just any kind of alcohol consumption that leads to the negative consequences we associate with the concept of drunkenness. The very question of how much was imbibed is important primarily because the answer to it paints a picture of what the outcome of that drinking was. In essence, it is precisely the social consequences of alcohol consumption that constitute the heart of the drunkenness problem, not the consumption per se. Society is alarmed primarily by the antisocial behavior that results from alcohol abuse. This too can be "measured" by quantitative indicators: the number of crimes one way or another related to drinking, the number and relative weight of alcohol-induced accidents (traffic accidents, injury on the job or at home, etc.). Let us, however, bear in mind that even here direct comparison is not always error-proof. If the number of drunks detained in city "A" is greater than in city "B", it does not necessarily follow that the residents of city "A" drink more or behave worse. Perhaps it simply devotes more attention to the problem of public order.

One of the most important aspects of the problem as far as sociologists are concerned is the measure of damage inflicted on the economy by heavy drinkers. This is first and foremost the figure for economic losses from absenteeism and tardiness, defective output and declining productivity, loss of skills and qualification, and so on. Also taken into account by sociologists are the direct material losses from alcohol-related crimes and accidents, as well as the cost of operating narcotic and psychiatric hospitals, providing medical treatment and sick pay for heavy drinkers, maintaining law enforcement, judicial and correctional institutions, and so on. The pernicious effect of alcohol on health is reflected in the morbidity rate among drunks, in their life expectancy, in comparative data on the physiological and mental development of normal children and children of drunks who are liable to suffer from the affects of their parents' hereditary diseases, conception in an intoxicated state, the mother's drinking while pregnant, inadequate care and much, much more.

Standing somewhat apart are the figures for the number of chronic alcoholics. This is a pivotal indicator of the gravity of the alcohol problem. Unfortunately, the damage alcohol does to the spiritual and moral aspects of human relations does not easily lend itself to any even remotely reliable numerical evaluation.

The question can well be asked: what is the purpose of studying and keeping track of all this? The fact of the matter is that the question "How to measure drunkenness?" has great practical significance. The more we know about the dynamics of alcohol consumption, the slice it takes out of the family budget, the types and forms of drinking, the more successful will be the struggle against this social evil and the negative phenomena that accompany it. But more about this in the next article.

[14 Mar 84 p 2]

The gravity of the alcohol situation quite naturally gives rise to society's ever-mounting anxiety over the matter. Here is just one example. In one of their projects sociologists requested pollees to select from a long list of events and problems the ones that caused them the most concern. The result? It turned out that improving one's economic state got only one fifth of the vote while "combatting alcoholism"--about one half. Of those polled 74 percent responded "yes" to the question "Are you alarmed by the current incidence of drunkenness?"

This mass antialcoholic sentiment is a good springboard for introducing more resolute measures against drunkenness. Lest we err in the selection of these measures, however, it is imperative to assess the alcohol situation as accurately as possible as well as the realistic possibilities we have at our disposal to swing it around. What are these possibilities today? What can, or cannot, the antialcohol drive be based on? There are opinions to spare on this matter but no satisfactory answer to the question "What do we do about drunkenness?" Why so?

Because, in our view, for all the endless variety of the measures proposed almost all the "ideas" hark back to one and the same stereotype, one and the same and, alas, very widespread notion. According to this stereotype, there must be created and put into action something in the nature of a clear-cut, all-Union set of instructions on the eradication of drunkenness and alcoholism. The overwhelming majority of these proposals (introduce ration cards for hard liquor, place limits on its annual output, invent a harmless alcohol, mete out cruel punishment for drunkenness, sell vodka in unattractive bottles with scary labels, and so on) reflect a reliance not so much on social as mainly administrative measures, in other words, on measures that essentially do not strike at the reasons for alcohol abuse. This is not to say that such measures are totally unneeded or that they will all inevitably fail. The measures are needed because they can alleviate the gravity of the problem. But, firstly, only "alleviate", and secondly, their potential effect--positive or negative--given the present (very weak) state of research into the problem, can be assessed mainly on the suppositional level.

That these suggestions smack of guesswork is witnessed to by the way they contradict each other: some propose to stop selling vodka in small bottles, others insist on it; some demand that liquor stores work shorter hours and their numbers be reduced (so as to confront drinkers with fewer temptations and more obstacles), others call for more restaurants, cafes and bars (so as to cut down on turmoil and drinking in the doorways); some are for limiting the production of wine and beer (the drinking of which can easily become habitual), others are for an increase in their output (so as to oust "enemy number one"--vodka). These diametrically opposing views are often based on arguments that seem equally convincing and reasonable.

The way things stand today, we must think not of delivering drunkenness a mortal blow right here and now (much as we would like to), but of carrying out the preliminary measures necessary to create the scientific, legal, economic and other foundations for an effective antialcohol policy.

Proponents of "concrete measures" will, of course, ask in anger: "How much longer?!" Indeed, we cannot wait for the scientists to research the question inside out, down to the last nuance, and come up with their remedial recommendations. It must be clear to any unbiased person, though, that this is not what we are talking about. What, then, is? We are saying that it is imperative to begin with steps that would in a certain sense guarantee a gradual increase in our ability to control the alcohol situation. The illusion that drunkenness can be eliminated quickly and easily must be discarded because in it lies the longest and most unreliable road to the resolution of the problem. Before undertaking the necessary measures we must know exactly (and not approximately) what the consequences of these measures will be, we must accurately predict the future situation or else continue to grope in the dark. Here is a simple example. In 1979 the surcharge on liquor served to clients in restaurants during evening hours was raised quite significantly. This measure was soon complemented by another--new, better quality but higher-priced brands of alcoholic beverages appeared. The outcome? One direct result was a stop, for the first time in decades, in the growth of alcohol sales and even a reduction in vodka's share of alcoholic-beverage turnover. Unfortunately, though, this did not translate into a real reduction in alcohol consumption, but into a spate of moonshining activities which was recorded by agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and reflected in statistics on sales of sugar to the population in 1981 and 1982. The growth of alcohol consumption continued at a rate in no way slower than before, but in circumstances that now acquired an illegal and therefore especially dangerous character.

As we know, the steep restaurant surcharges were repealed. Cheaper brands of vodka were put on the retail market. Life had taught us a lesson no one should forget, particularly proponents of the "dry laws" who firmly believe that the perils of moonshining were deliberately invented by their opponents.

Let's be realistic and draw this conclusion: alcohol consumption develops from a variety of social reasons, and this makes the struggle against drunkenness a terribly difficult undertaking. But in this, if we reason without panic, lies the basis for overcoming the difficulties involved.

The fact that drunkenness is intertwined with other social problems imparts pivotal significance to multiple-targeted plans aimed at solving not one, but several problems at a single stroke. This, we repeat, by no way suggests that immediate antialcohol measures are not needed, it simply means that they must be tied to the overall social policy of the state. Let's put the question bluntly: who today must regulate the alcohol situation in the country or any of its regions? Who must assume the powers that would permit talking to other ministries and departments on an equal footing and standing up for the interests of the anti-drunkenness struggle in the process of drafting any measures that might in some way impinge on those interests? It is truly regrettable that the Ministry of Health which, it would seem, by its very nature should champion the cause of sobriety can do so today only on the level of antialcohol education inasmuch as it wields no legal power in the matter at all.

The struggle against drunkenness, as we know, cannot be successful without the broad participation in it of the public. But the public also needs to be organized. A helpful step in that direction would be the institution of an all-Union public antialcohol society, local sobriety clubs and the like. Extremely important too is for the population to be informed about the true state of affairs. At present most people can judge on the matter only by the number of drunks they encounter on the streets. Yet the clearer the picture in people's minds of the actual state of the problem the easier it will be to find allies in them.

Of special significance is the well-organized scientific study of drunkenness as a social problem. It is the only thing that will make it possible to do away with an amateur approach to so serious a question. Indeed, any self-respecting sports team of our time has its own comprehensive scientific group which assists the sportsmen in their arduous toil. It has long ceased to surprise anyone that research is conducted on the special, physical, moral and psychological training of future champions, scientific papers are published and dissertations presented on problems of ice hockey, soccer, basketball and other sports. On the other hand, only a handful of people in the entire country are professionally involved in the study of the social aspects of drunkenness and alcoholism. And this despite the fact only advanced and regularly conducted research, only meticulous analysis of the experience amassed in practical antialcohol work abroad and at home (as we gain more of it) can serve as the basis for effective and concrete practical recommendations. Should the network of quick bars be expanded or contracted? Should liquor sales be limited to shorter hours? What prices should various beverages be sold at? Should an antialcohol course be taught in our schools? Should drunkards be fired from their jobs or

"educated"? Of course, science cannot do it all, and it would be naive to pin all our hopes on it. But to turn down its services would mean working on many issues in the dark...

The most obvious thing about drunkenness today is the necessity to struggle against it. We must begin this struggle with measures that will expand our knowledge, our experience and our capability to really bring about a change in the alcohol situation in today's society.

12258

CSO: 1800/335

NATIONAL

FEED SUPPLY PROBLEM PLAGUES PRIVATE FARMING

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 84 p 11

[Article by V. Manzhos from the village of Mamontovo, Altay Kray, in the column "Village Assembly": "You Can't Buy It--But You Can Get It"]

[Text] We agreed that I would not use his name. For in fact, that's not the point.

"Tell me," he addressed me heatedly, "how can you raise a pig, 20 hens, and ten geese and receive only 2 centners of food scraps as feed? You can't? But I do it! And there are many of us. What I don't have enough of, I get."

And he added: "Here, you work on the newspaper, writing about private subsidiary farms, so try to solve my problem."

I'll explain. In the language of my opponent, "to get" means to buy for a half liter or more from those who, in turn, know how "to get" from the state's pocket. My friend (and he is not alone) is willing, of course, to buy the feed supply from an official establishment. But, the whole question rests on where to get this feed. Yes, it is not possible to buy it; but it is possible to get it.

Frankly speaking, this is nonsense. If it is possible to obtain it, then that means that a supply of feed does exist. Therefore, would it not be more convenient to arrange to sell it in an organized fashion, based on the number of cattle in each household? It seems to me that it is even necessary to oblige them to buy feed. You, Ivanov, for example, have so much livestock and poultry. In order to raise them, you need so much feed. Be so kind, pay, here you are, sign here.

This arrangement will solve the problem of "getting". And the money will be in the public pocket instead of the pocket of a private individual.

It is difficult to calculate how much baked bread goes to feed livestock. The methods of fighting this phenomenon are inadequate. There are fixed norms of bread for one buyer. But who will stop him from buying several times a day in different stores? The measure of selling only higher quality bread

in some rayons, also seems absurd. It is much cheaper and more convenient to provide the population with pure grain rather than milling it and then baking the bread which will go to feed a pig or a rabbit.

The objection will be: there is not enough grain. And I watch in exasperation as my acquaintance cuts the bread in neat slices for the rabbits--in the form of pure grain, there is not enough to go around, but in the form of baked bread there is plenty? I cannot understand such economics.

Somehow the kolkhozes and sovkhoses solve the problem of supplying feed to private subsidiary farms. The issue now concerns the private plots of citizens in the 57 rayon centers, in our kray, not counting those in Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast. In each, there are hundreds of cows and thousands of hogs and poultry. Yet, what is the need of animal feed by the private sector?--no one has answered my question. There is no such calculation.

Yes, there are organizations and institutions attached to specific kolkhozes and sovkhoses which, indeed, issue 2 centners of scraps per home owner, which my acquaintance receives. Let us emphasize, per home owner, regardless of whether he has 10 chickens or 50...

The problem demands a cardinal decision, for the "little economy" plays an active role in the solution of the great Food Program.

12598

CSO: 1800/264

NATIONAL

READERS' LETTERS DISCUSS NEED FOR HORSES IN PRIVATE FARMING

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Mar 84 p 11

[Article by Kapitolina Kozhevnikova: "'Let the Pilipenko Family Keep The Horse....'" under the rubric "'LITERATURNAYA GAZETA' in the countryside"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Horses have been much written about in 'LITERATURNAYA GAZETA' and other newspapers. And hence [Yet], when we published the commentary "About Horses" by E. Govorushko ('LITERATURNAYA GAZETA,' No 46, 1983), we had not expected to receive hundreds of responses from zootechnicians, town dwellers, rural pensioners, foresters, geologists, teachers, physicians, students....

This means that the topic is not exhausted. This means that the horse still has not found its place in the present-day countryside. In his commentary E. Govorushko described how a worker of the Pobolovo Sovkhoz in Rogachevskiy Rayon, Gomel Oblast, found an abandoned foal, raised it and kept it on his private plot. He was told that this was not right and he should give the animal up to a sovkhos or to a meat combine, since in Belorussia there exists to this day a law forbidding the keeping of horses on private farms.

The writers of nearly all the letters to the editor ended them with the words: "Let the Pilipenko Family Keep the Horse...." Several persons, however, expressed a different point of view and it is with them that we will begin our discussion.

Longing for the Old Farmstead?

"...IN MY OPINION, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF HORSES IS OUT. THE GOVERNMENT ALREADY HAS PROVIDED MANY CONVENIENCES IMPROVING THE MATERIAL SIDE OF LIFE WHICH AFFECT SOME CITIZENS ADVERSELY...." (P. MARTYNOV, LT COL, CITY OF GORKIY).

"IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE REAL POINT IS NOT THE OWNERSHIP OF THE HORSE BUT LONGING FOR THE OLD FARMSTEAD, FOR PRIVATELY OWNED FARMS. WHAT IS MORE, THE HABIT OF LIVING AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE, THAT IS AT YOUR AND MINE EXPENSE, STILL HAS NOT DIED...." (A. PERFILOV, LABOR VETERAN, MOSCOW).

"...NO, I DEFINITELY DON'T SUPPORT THE IDEA OF FREE OWNERSHIP OF HORSES. THIS LEADS TO MONEYGRUBBING, THE AMASSING OF PERSONAL FORTUNES...." (V. KASPERSKIY, ORSHA, VITEBSK OBLAST).

Thus, the writers of the above letters are worried lest horses kept by owners of private land plots in the countryside become the subject of greed for acquisition. Whence these fears? As you notice, this point of view is chiefly held by people of the older generation, those who remember the far-off times of collectivization when horses had been socialized and transferred to kolkhozes--for they then were the principal productive force in the countryside.

The horse has been replaced by the motor vehicle, which accomplished a veritable revolution in the countryside. At first there had been plenty to do for both motor vehicles and horses. But with the advent of complex mechanization the horse began to feel less and less comfortable. Warm stables and harnesses disappeared, as did the occupation of the stableman. The most respectable occupation in the countryside became that of the broadly trained mechanizer.

In the roar, smoke and clank of machinery some began to think that the horse has outlived its times. And horses began to wander around and grow wild. In the kolkhozes they were at best provided with some shelter in a calf pen or a cow pen.

However, the comrades whose letters are cited above apparently still regard the horse as the principal work force in the countryside and voice the fear that if an individual gets to own a horse he will become a rich man! This has been commented upon in well-chosen words in the letter by V. Danilova of Belaya Tserkov, Kiev Oblast:

"...IT USED TO BE THAT THE SIMPLE COUNTRYMAN DID NOT EVEN DREAM OF OWNING A CAR. THAT WAS A SYMBOL OF INCONCEIVABLE WEALTH...NOW OUR SOCIETY HAS BECOME SO STRENGTHENED ECONOMICALLY THAT PRACTICALLY ANYONE IF NOT EVERYONE CAN OWN A MOTORCAR. THE WORLD WON'T COLLAPSE BECAUSE OF IT."

The old farmstead has long since disappeared and shall not return. But there is the new farmstead as part of the general agroindustrial complex. And this is linked to quite a few unresolved problems. How is a private land plot to be worked? A man works all day in a kolkhoz or sovkhoz and when he comes home he still has to work on his private plot and tend his livestock. This is where the horse could play an invaluable role.

P. K. Mikhnenkov, a disabled veteran of the Great Patriotic War and the inhabitant of the village of Dumanichi, Pochinkovskiy Rayon, Smolensk Oblast, writes:

"NOWADAYS THE KOLKHOZES ARE FASCINATED BY MECHANIZATION, THINKING THAT HORSES ARE NOT NEEDED AND ARE ONLY A LIABILITY. YET HORSES HAVE BEEN USED TO TILL PRIVATE LAND PLOTS, HAUL FIREWOOD FROM THE FOREST AND HAUL FODDER TO THE

LIVESTOCK PENS. A HORSE WILL NEVER REFUSE TO DO ANYTHING AND WILL ALWAYS HELP. NO MATTER HOW GREATLY MECHANIZED EQUIPMENT IS DEVELOPED, A HORSE IS NEEDED AND UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES SIMPLY IRREPLACEABLE. WHAT PROBLEMS ARE WE EXPERIENCING WITH THE CULTIVATION OF PRIVATE LAND PLOTS AND THE TRANSPORTATION OF HAY AND FUEL!"

Farmers have been long awaiting the advent of small-scale mechanization. After all, in our day and age digging a plot with a shovel or plowing it with the aid of a horse is awkward, "neprestizhno" [non-prestigious] as the saying goes nowadays. So designers began to work on a mini-tractor and developed one. Incidentally, the Minsk Tractor Plant is taking part in that work. We published a news item about it ('LITERATURNAYA GAZETA,' No 10, 1983), thinking that rural dwellers would rejoice to hear of it. Some did rejoice but a majority--just imagine--voiced the view that a mini-tractor is good but a horse is better. A truly unpredictable response. Let us listen to the arguments of our readers:

"A NEW WIND IS BLOWING, NEW PROJECTS ARE IN PROGRESS. SO NOW THE MINI-TRACTOR HAS APPEARED. BUT ALLOW ME TO ASK: WHERE CAN THE FUEL AND SPARE PARTS FOR IT BE BOUGHT? OF COURSE, THERE ARE SPIRITED BOYS WHO CLAIM: 'GIVE US THE MINI-TRACTOR!' AND I AM NOT OPPOSED TO SMALL-SIZED POWER EQUIPMENT. BUT IT CAUSES SO MUCH TROUBLE, WHEREAS THE HORSE HAS BEEN FOR AGES SERVING MAN LOYALLY. IT CANNOT BE DISCARDED. YET IT HAS BEEN DISCARDED, BY NAMELESS CULPRITS...." (I. LEONT'YEV, LENINGRAD).

Mikhail Nikolayevich Ostashek, an agronomist from Chernovitsy Oblast, declares categorically:

"NO MINI-TRACTORS SHOULD BE PRODUCED. HOW MUCH STATE CAPITAL HAS TO BE EXPENDED ON THIS, LET ALONE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REPAIR FACILITIES. ALL THIS WOULD COST MILLIONS. IS NOT THIS TOO BIG A LUXURY? IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE HORSES. OUR MOTHER RUSSIA HAS PLOWED AND SOWED ONLY WITH THEIR AID. IT IS NO SHAME TO UTILIZE OLD EXPERIENCE ON SMALL FARMS. THAT WOULD BE MORE CONVENIENT AND CHEAPER, AND MORE ECONOMICAL. THE HORSE IS CAPABLE OF MAKING ITS OWN CONTRIBUTION TO THE FOOD PROGRAM."

It seems to me that it is incorrect to make this an either-or choice between the mini-tractor and the horse. Both should be used! Let us not oppose the horse to power equipment. The point is that the horse also has plenty of work cut out for it. Let people have the right to choose. Everyone is different and has different proclivities and interests.

Reader A. Dolgova from Kaliningrad sent us a very angry letter:

"FINALLY YOU REMEMBERED THE HORSE! INSTEAD OF ALWAYS WRITING ABOUT DOGS. THE DOGS ARE THE SUBJECT OF FILMS AND POEMS AND ARE SAID TO BE OUR FRIENDS AND YOUNGER BROTHERS AND FAMILY MEMBERS. BUT THE HORSE IS MUCH MORE USEFUL. THE LAD PILIPENKO OF BELORUSSIA SAVED A FOAL FROM DEATH AND NURSED IT. THAT IS LOVE OF ANIMALS...."

This is, of course, an extreme view. Towndwellers, whose entire mode of life is divorced from nature, keep dogs, cats or canaries for pets. I even read somewhere about an alligator being kept in a bathtub. A person is free to pursue his hobbies. One cannot, of course, drag a horse to one's balcony. And besides no one is imposing it on townspeople. Its place is in the farmstead.

The Horseman in the Steppe

Like a far-off mirage, a remembered image appears. The boundless Kazakhstan steppe. Level like a tabletop, covered with sparse grayish grass that already is becoming desiccated by the summer heat. Suddenly a dot appears on the horizon. It grows in size and acquires the shape of a horseman. The horse gallops, its mane flying in the wind.

Man has always had an attachment to the horse. Tolstoy's Kholstomer, the "aytmatovskiy" [?] steed of Gul'sara--with what humanity, precisely humanity, have its truly immortal features been drawn.

Ours is a big country. The traditional attitude toward the horse differs in different krays and regions. Recently, Boris Semenovitch Belugin, the chairman of Progress Kolkhoz in Yaroslav Oblast, told me:

"In our entire kolkhoz 18 horses are left. Like poor relatives, they found shelter at the dairy farm. And thankfully, some are kept by horse-loving kolkhoz members on their private plots. The others are left unsupervised. Urban teenagers sometimes chase and taunt them. Motor vehicles are used instead of horses to till the fields. We used to have 250 horses and buy harnesses on cooperative basis. But now it's a laugh--we ourselves jury-rig harnesses from plywood. Yes, this is a bad business....

In 1981 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree for the promotion of horse raising. The decree outlined major measures for improving this branch of agriculture.

Since then more than 2 years passed. What has changed? I talked with Valentin Nikitovich Gorbachev, chief of the horse-raising administration at the USSR Ministry of Agriculture:

"In recent years the country's horse population has grown, even if not much. A good farm uses horses in various operations. Have you been to the rice-growing Krasnoarmeyskiy Sovkhoz in Krasnodar Kray? I advise you to visit it. Its director, Hero of Socialist Labor Maystrenko, is a great horse lover. It keeps purebred and well-groomed horses--just like a vision. And what stables! The sovkhaz even maintains a kumyss [mare's milk] farm, and its kumyss is as good as Bashkir kumyss, superb. Young people enjoy working in the horse-sports section, continuing the tradition of the old Kuban Cossacks who knew all about horses. Wherever the heads of a kolkhoz or sovkhaz attend competently to horse-raising, there are no problems. Care is taken to teach both teenagers and pensioners how to deal with horses. Those who want to keep a horse on their private land plot are allowed to do so. An elderly man keeping a horse will not amass a fortune from it; there is no fear of it. But

we cannot keep horses on private land plots alone. There is a need for kolkhozes and sovkhoses to attend seriously to this branch of agriculture in addition to the horse farms."

Many readers also have written us about this.

M. SEREBRYANAYA, A DOCENT FROM NORTH OSSETIYA, WROTE: "IT WOULD BE WRONG TO CONFINE THE ROLE OF THE HORSE TO SERVICE ON PRIVATE LAND PLOTS ALONE. CONSIDER THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PO ZAVETAM IL'ICHA KOLKHOZ IN OUR REPUBLIC. THAT IS A LARGE AND DIVERSIFIED FARM. HORSES THERE DO THE LION'S SHARE OF WORK IN GROWING AND HARVESTING POTATOES, VEGETABLES AND ROOT CROPS. THEY ARE ALLOTTED TO BRIGADES, FARM SECTORS, KINDERGARTENS AND NURSERIES. COOKS CARRY FOOD TO FIELD WORKERS AND EQUIPMENT OPERATORS ON HORSE-DRAWN CARTS. IN A WORD, HORSES ARE FULLY UTILIZED THERE."

A. Tochkova of the village of Anton'yevka, Petropavlovskiy Rayon, Altay Kray, wrote that in her kolkhoz there is "an excellent herd of horses. Anyone can take a horse as the need arises. During the holiday of "The First Furrow" young people demonstrate their skills in horsemanship and obstacle races."

I recall with pleasure my trip to the Kolkhoz imeni Shevchenko, village of Khomutets, Mirgorodskiy Rayon, Poltava Oblast. It has more than 300 horses which do not wander aimlessly around but are used for work everywhere. Harnessmakers were located, harnesses made and carts and sledges built and now children are being transported in beautifully decorated horse-drawn carriages to the kindergarten. That is how!

The horse is becoming an exotic animal. In Lithuania the country's first horse museum has been opened. A museum yet! How sad. But still this shows that some people think that the times when the horse was respected and strong should be commemorated. Incidentally, it was in Lithuania, too, some 10 years ago, that Pyatras Vasinauskas, a professor at the Lithuanian Agricultural Academy, harnessed a horse and rode across the republic, visiting his former students: kolkhoz chairmen, agronomists and scientific workers. He had seen a lot during his trip. When you ride in a carriage, you see, of course, a lot more than you could see while sitting in a car.

Some sober pragmatists would consider this a whim. But it was no whim that motivated the elderly professor; it was rather the desire to remind people that old traditions should not be forgotten, that the accomplishments of the past should not be forfeited in the haste to keep up with the times, that the new should be competently combined with those aspects of the old that can still long survive.

Goodness and the Law

"...WE ATTEND INADEQUATELY TO SHAPING ECONOMIC THINKING OF THE NEW TYPE. AS A RESULT, THE LAW EFFECTIVE IN BELORUSSIA CONFLICTS WITH THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF MEASURES INTENDED TO ASSURE AN ABUNDANCE OF FOODSTUFFS FOR THE COUNTRY...." (YE. ANTONOV, KUYBYSHEV).

Indeed, what kind of economic thinking is that when virtually an entire branch of agriculture--horse raising--has been left out of the general system. And yet everything in that system should be in place and operate for the good of man. Suppose that we have ceased sowing buckwheat, and then the renowned Russian "black" kasha would disappear from our table. Suppose we stop growing cucurbitaceous crops, and then there would be no more melons, and so forth.

Man's work on land has to be extremely meticulous. If one link in the chain is disregarded, the entire chain will collapse. Because all of that work is indeed bound together into a single chain.

Of course, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, let alone specialized horse-raising farms, should primarily attend to horses. I have the impression that the people working at the Horse-Raising Administration of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture are knowledgeable and genuinely concerned for the fate of the horse. Concerning the affair of the horse of the Pilipenko family, they expressed their astonishment: could not it have been resolved in a humane manner, according to dictates of conscience?

Goodness is goodness, but there are laws. The law cannot be evaded; it has to be obeyed.

How then has the problem of the horse on the private land plot been resolved in various other republics? In 1982 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR revised the pertinent ukase in force and delegated to the ispolkoms of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies the right to permit citizens to own one head of livestock apiece for use as labor, whether a horse, a mule, a bullock, a donkey, a camel, or an ox. But this right does not apply to kolkhoz members! The kolkhozes have their own charters, which should allow such ownership. Perhaps so, but do they always allow it? After all, it is much easier to forbid or refuse.

In the Ukraine the "horse question" has been solved in emulation of the RSFSR. Judging from the letters received, however, the Ukrainian ispolkoms are not very eager to allow horses to be kept on private land plots.

In Central Asia and Turkmenia rural dwellers may each keep a mare with her brood so as to milk it for kumyss. In the Transcaucasus, in view of the mountainous local terrain, keeping riding horses is allowed. In Georgia, 74 percent of the local horse population is privately owned and in Azerbaijan, 84.4 percent.

It is interesting that in Belorussia, too, the ukase delegates to the ispolkoms the right to grant, by way of an exception in isolated cases, permission to use horses on private land plots. But the trouble is that no one wants to notice these "isolated cases."

Long since Lidiya Valentinovna But'ko, the mother of eight children, of the village of Lipki, Minskiy Rayon, has been requesting permission to keep for her family a horse that she had purchased while it was still a foal. All in vain.

While I was writing the present article, a reply had arrived from the Gomel Oblispolkom. Its deputy chairman, A. Grakhovskiy, declared that "the question of the status of the private ownership of a horse by V. M. Pilipenko has been resolved positively." This means that, all the same, an "exception" was made for it! But what about L. V. But'ko and many others who want to keep horses on their private land plots?

(The editors thank all the readers who replied to the article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.)

1386

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REGIONAL

VAYNO DISCUSSES REPUBLIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, GROWTH

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Feb 84 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Build on Labor Achievements"]

[Text] Kokhtla-Yarve, 22 Feb—A meeting was conducted in the elated festive atmosphere in the "Oktoober" Palace of Culture between the voters of Kokhtla-Yarve, Sillamäe, and Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon and candidate for deputy to the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the Tallinn Rural Electoral District No 748, First Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Karl Genrikhovich Vayno.

"During these days," said the party first secretary of the Kokhtla-Yarve city party committee, Ye. Filatov, in opening the meeting, "the monolithic unity of the party and its unbroken tie with the people is particularly visible. Once again it found confirmation in decisions of the February (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the speeches then of Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee K.U. Chernenko. The unswerving policy of the party for putting into practice the Leninist foreign and domestic policies is reflected in these documents." Further, Ye. Filatov emphasized that today's pre-election campaign is distinguished by the general upsurge, which involves the workers' collectives of the city. Enterprises, shops, sections, and brigades pledge increased socialist obligations in honor of the elections.

The floor was given to a fiduciary of the candidate, to V. Morozov, the turners' brigade leader of the compound mineral fertilizer factory of the Slantsekhim Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin. He noted that preparation for the elections was an indicator of the high labor and political activeness of the Soviet people. Putting forth their best representatives as candidates of a high organ of state power, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, exert their every effort for strengthening the economic and defensive might of the Motherland.

And then the speaker acquainted those assembled with the biographies of the candidate.

As a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet's 10th convocation, emphasized the speaker, Karl Genrikhovich will fulfill his high obligations as an elected representative of the people with great responsibility and energy. He often visits workers' collectives, meets with voters, and is well aware of the needs and concerns of the people.

Hero of Socialist Labor, brigade leader of a mining excavator of the Viivikonna pit mine of the Estonianets Production Association, V. Vasil'yev told us how the miners of the republic labor, fulfilling obligations accepted in honor of the upcoming elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. In response to the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to all the voters and citizens of the Soviet Union, my brigade, said V. Vasil'yev, has pledged to undertake repairs to the excavator ahead of schedule and proceed to the mining. In conclusion he noted that in voting for candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty members, we will by the same token be voting for the further development of our national economy and the raising of every worker's standard of living.

Director of the Kokhtla-Yarve SPTU (Agricultural Vocational and Technical School) No 11 N. Filippova and chairman of the trade union committee of the Oktoober Kolkhoz, Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon, L. Abel', chairman of the executive committee of the Kokhtla-Yarve City Soviet of Peoples' Deputies R. Sheremeta, and other speakers underscored the leading role of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee in developing the economy, culture, science, and agriculture of our republic and the great contribution to this of Karl Genrikhovich Vayno. They discussed how from year to year working conditions and the lives of the toilers of Kokhtla-Yarve enterprises and the farms in Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon have improved and housing construction has been expanded. The speakers talked of the resolve of the workers' collectives of the city to mark the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet with new labor accomplishments, and they called on Kokhtla-Yarve residents unanimously to cast their votes on election day for worthy representatives of the inviolable bloc of communist and nonparty members.

Then Comrade Vayno spoke, warmly greeted by those assembled.

Conveying his heartfelt gratitude to all the workers' collectives nominating him to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the speaker announced that he considered it not only a great honor, but also a tremendous responsibility to the party and the people. He expressed his thanks for the kind words addressed to him, entirely attributing them to the Leninist party, to the CPSU Central Committee, and to the tested militant staff of our party. He assured all the voters of the Tallinn rural electoral district that he would devote all his strength to carrying out the Leninist course of the party and serving the people and that he would do everything in order to be worthy of the high rank of deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, held on 13 February, Comrade Vayno said further, confirmed the correctness of the political policy of deepening the positive processes occurring in all spheres of public life of the country and preserving and strengthening peace on our planet.

At the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the Secretary General of the party Central Committee Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, announced in his address that much work directed at hastening the development of the country's economy and at overcoming the difficulties with which we have been struggling in the 70's and 80's, will be continued by the collective forces of the party. And

this is the best means to provide a proper memorial for Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, who has left us, and to ensure continuity in the policy which has the wholehearted support of the Soviet people.

In accordance with this established good tradition, preparation for the elections to this highest organ of state power is proceeding in close connection with the national discussion of the results of work accomplished and vital tasks facing the national economy. In essence, this is a feature of our Soviet democracy and real sovereignty of the people, when every person participates in resolving questions of great public significance and learns to think and act from a state point of view.

In the path of the pre-election campaign, as always, there is ample opportunity for indepth analysis of social development and activity of state organizations, the strengthening of ties of the soviets at all levels with the populace, and the increasing of the responsibility and authority of the elected representatives of the people. All suggestions and observations of the workers (and they submitted many), are being considered most carefully and will be studied in the further work of party and soviet organs, because there is no goal for the party higher than the good of the working people and the service of their interests and there is no support more dependable and solid than the support and confidence of the masses.

Not so long ago a most important pre-election document was published--an Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to all voters and citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It stated clearly the platform from which the party advancing toward the elections in close union with the non-party members. In its Appeal, the main staff of our party not only reported to the people about the principal results of the country's development in the past 5 years and the realization of strategic policy developed by the 25th and 26th Party Congresses. The Central Committee directly and openly talks about unresolved problems and realistically evaluates conditions in the country and the world.

With deep awareness of its historic role and responsibility for the fate of the Motherland, the party is striving to influence better and more effectively the path of social processes, successively to perfect socialist democracy, to support everywhere, and in everything, initiative and creativeness of the workers, and to attract labor collectives to work out decisions on all pressing, important questions of state and public life. With full support of the people, the party follows a firm policy for strengthening discipline and order, improving control of the economy, and stimulating high-quality and productive labor. The prestige of the party word has risen immeasurably, creating in the country a favorable creative condition, inseparably linked with deeds. Now, the pre-election statement of the party carries a concrete sober evaluation of pressing problems, and the tasks advanced are distinguished by the reality of their implementation and the scientific regulation of decisions.

Comrade Vayno dwelled on the labor achievements of our country and discussed the growth of the international prestige of the Soviet state. The spiritual life of the people has become richer, and the sociopolitical unity of our society has become stronger.

Together with the entire country and in the friendly family of the peoples of the Soviet Union, our republic is also confidently following the broad road of progress.

In the period between elections the principal indicator of economic growth, national income per capita, increased by 17 percent. This is not a bad pace.

The industry of the republic is being developed, confidently, in tune with the target of the five-year plan. The entire increase in production has been obtained in recent years by an increase in labor productivity alone; that is without drawing on additional manpower. This is an important qualitative improvement.

The gross output of republic agriculture has grown 14 percent in 5 years. And this, despite the fact in 1978 and 1981 weather conditions were extremely unfavorable. Great difficulties were encountered, but thanks to the selfless labor of village workers and sponsoring city collectives, and significant governmental assistance, we were able to overcome adversity. Last year a record average yield of milk was obtained--3,701 kilograms from every cow. The weight gain of cattle being fattened was also good. All this allowed the production and purchase of livestock products to increase substantially and the supplying of food to the population to improve. Now our agriculture is on a positive upswing; people are working with feeling and initiative, placing before themselves new and higher tasks.

In the period between elections, intensive construction has occurred in the republic, with more than 4 billion rubles of capital investments being added. Only one list of new and modernized industrial projects threatens to take up much time--no matter how you look at it, nearly 50 major structures. I would like to name several of the most significant ones. These are the energy bloc of the Tallin Iru TETs, the experimental energy-technological installation at the Estonian GREC, the new facilities for extracting shale by the open-pit method, the starting complex of the box-calf tannery in Narva, sulphuric acid facility in Kokhtla-Yarve, and bakeries in Valga and Vyrü.

There has been much construction in the village. The architecture and quality of the newly-constructed buildings in the rural area are not inferior to those in the city and sometimes surpass them. This permits the creation of a production base corresponding to contemporary demands and the better retention of cadres.

In this period between elections all the olympic projects were completed, thus changing for the better the face of the republic capital; first class airport buildings were built in Tallinn and Tartu. In recent years our plans for initiating construction of schools, children's institutions, clinics, and hospitals have been met regularly. A great deal of work has been carried out in constructing purification installations which permitted improvement in environmental protection. Housing construction is occurring in the republic, outstripping the five-year plan. In 5 years the actual living space of a city-dweller has increased by 2 square meters on the average. It now totals 16.7 square meters.

The monetary income of the population also has grown steadily. The average monthly wages of our workers and office employees has reached 201 rubles—25 rubles greater than in 1978. Payments and benefits from public consumption funds, that is expenditures of society on the education, health care, and upkeep of children's facilities and libraries has grown by more than 215 million rubles. From these funds subsidies for housing, rest homes, and sanatoriums have been received, and stipends, pensions, and grants have been paid. We have grown accustomed to the fact that the state has borne these expenditures and that enterprises and trade unions assume them, not even considering their addition to the family budget. This addition is very substantial. With the addition of payments and benefits from public consumption funds, the average monthly wages of workers and office employees increases by 85 rubles.

The average monthly pay of the kolkhoz workers has also risen noticeably. It now amounts to 238 rubles. The private subsidiary farm adds to this not-insubstantial income.

The volume of everyday services rendered to the population has increased by 20 million rubles in 5 years. Services has become a highly-developed sphere of the economy. Many shops have been outfitted with modern efficient equipment; new studios have been built, and centers for the combined placing of orders have been opened.

Beyond all these statistics on our growth, many more of which could have been cited, stand real things and live events, understood by every person and having a direct relation to them in one way or another. There is the joy of a new home and an addition to the family table, a new acquisition in the home and care of society for personal health, personal accessibility to learning and art, and much, much more.

There is no doubt that in 5 years we have moved ahead significantly. But we all want more, and this is completely natural. A person, by nature, is not content with his accomplishments. We still do not have sufficient lodgings, stores, kindergartens, schools or athletic facilities. People often say, can't the implementation of construction plans be hastened and more funds be allocated for the development of municipal facilities and services, the building of roads and recreation centers. Can't still more living quarters be built? A number of worker categories have low pay. Can't this be raised?

The questions are raised correctly. But in all likelihood it is also clear to everyone that their resolution does not depend on someone's good will. Public and personal demands can be satisfied better only by the creation of additional material wealth. Therefore, increasing the national income and raising labor productivity are most important tasks today. It is not by chance that the December (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee accorded top-priority attention precisely to the qualitative economic indicators.

Our worker collectives perceive as their vital interest the party's task of achieving an increase in labor productivity by 1 percent over the plan and a decrease, as well, by a half a percent in the cost of production. These

figures lie at the basis of the socialist obligations of enterprises and associations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, branches as a whole, and cities and rayons. The party's task added to the plan, is the core of the republic's socialist obligations and of the agreement on socialist competition concluded with the Latvian SSR.

Now action must follow the words.

What, then, are the first results? In January the republic's industry fulfilled the plan by 101.6 percent, and sold 6.6 million rubles worth of products over the plan. Compared to the first month of last year an impressive growth of 6.7 percent in labor productivity was achieved, much higher than contemplated. At the same time 14 enterprises and associations did not meet the plan for labor productivity, and still dozens were unable to maintain the additional percent of growth.

What does this say? That not everywhere is there success in keeping the high tempos established in the past year which on the whole was a very successful one for the economy, nor is everyone inclined to gaining new heights. Several ministries and departments, as well, are not up to the level of growing demands.

One should thoroughly analyze the results of the first month of the year, give them a critical evaluation, and turn the attention of businesses to weak spots and those seriously underfilling their tasks.

The additional task of the party regarding labor productivity and cost needs to be supported by strict engineer calculations; it must induce a constant search for reserves and encourage new economic thinking on the part of the workers. The economic issue particularly, decided by the December (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is acquiring great educational significance and is being shifted to the center of the organizational and political work of all party committees, Soviet and economic organs, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

Comrade K.U. Chernenko, in his address at the Central Committee's February Plenum, expressed the opinion that all means and resources received from fulfilling the additional task of the plan will be directed to improving working conditions and life style of the Soviet peoples, medical services, and the construction of living accommodations. All of our people greeted these words with deep pleasure and considered them as an all-inclusive concern of the party for the good of the people and will respond with shock labor, a proprietor's attitude to business, and new creative initiatives.

Our republic, as I have already said, has achieved great successes in recent years. It inspires confidence in our strengths and pride in our accomplishments. But we see distinctly our omissions as well. There was talk of them at a plenum of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee last month, and even at party plenums in the cities and regions. Tasks were defined and major efforts will be concentrated on their resolution.

What particularly disturbs us now? There is a rather large gap in the level of management of individual industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and construction organizations. There is non-observance of discipline in deliveries which causes a big loss to the entire planned economy. The assortment and quality of consumer goods does not completely correspond to the growing effective demand, in connection with which complications with the turnover of goods are arising. There is a slow introduction to production of the accomplishments of science and engineering and of new progressive technology. Much still remains to be done to perfect the economic mechanism, introduce collective forms of organizing labor, simplify the management of economics, and develop initiative locally. There are also other problems, not fully resolved, which restrain the tempos of our movement forward.

The party accords top-priority to resolving these problems and consistently implements a policy of raising the effectiveness of the economy. But in the final analysis, success is forged directly in workers' collectives where the means of production are concentrated and material values are created. That means the course of the party and the atmosphere of the December (1983) and February (1984) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee must find its realization in our workers' existence and in lively socialist competition, so that every workday makes us stronger and richer.

The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee values highly the contribution of city and rayon party organizations, all the workers of Kokhtla-Yarva and Sillamyae, and toilers of the rayon in realizing the socioeconomic program of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

From elections to elections the volume of production, which the industry of the city has put out, has grown by one-third. Consumer goods production has been developing especially fast.

Capital construction in the city has moved at a fast pace. This permits still greater strengthening of the industrial potential of the cities and resolving of many questions of the urban economy. In Kokhtla-Yarve such important projects as a complex for producing formalin, a particleboard plant, an industrial building for the Noorus Sewing Association, the first section of the hothouse vegetable combine, an asphalt concrete plant, a phenol rectification installation, and many others have also been put into operation.

In the past year new polyclinics have been built in the city, and the work regimen of preventive medicine establishments has been revised with regard for the convenience of the public. A number of new trade enterprises have been opened. A large amount of work has been accomplished in the organization of city public services and amenities and the construction of cleaning facilities. The athletic base of the city has been strengthened, an exhibition hall opened, and a modern library building has been built in Kiviylü. The city received 136,000 square meters of well-constructed living accommodations.

The city of Sillamyae and Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon have taken a large step forward, their economies received further development, and social problems have been resolved. The past year was particularly fortunate for the rayon's agricultural toilers; all the kolkhozes and sovkhoses overfulfilled the plan

tasks for the sale of milk and meat to the state. The present wintering is also going well. As of 1 January of this year there was one-fourth more feed on the rayon's farms than a year ago. This means that there is a reliable basis for developing success.

Individual construction in the village is being developed intensively. They give a housewarming for 35-40 families annually. A school has been erected in Myaetaguz, and industrial facilities have been constructed--farms, granaries, and others.

According to the results of the All-Union Socialist Competition in 1983, the Kiviylil Shale Chemical Plant was recognized as the winner and awarded the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, and was listed on the All-Union Board of Honor of the USSR VDNKh (Exhibition of Economic Accomplishments). Work of the Kokhtla mining collective was also awarded a Red Banner. In the name of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, in the name of all those gathered, Comrade Vayno heartily congratulated the collectives of these foremost enterprises for their high awards and wished them well in raising further the level of the economy.

Further Comrade Vayno dwelled on still unresolved problems, first of all on questions of labor discipline. It is necessary to utilize better the moral potential of working people and the power and influence of workers' collectives in the struggle against absenteeism, alcoholism, and neglect of one's assigned duties. It is necessary to intervene earlier, and not when the ailment has already been neglected and it is very difficult to cure.

Much precious work time is lost because of defective equipment, the necessity to redo poorly done work, and interruptions in the delivery of raw materials and other materials. Most often of all, the affair rests on someone's negligence, helplessness, or outright lack of industriousness.

The February (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee once again stressed that the question of organization, order, and discipline remains key today. Measures taken by the party in this direction already have told on the public climate, on people's moods, and in the final result on production affairs. Now the task consists of not weakening, not being content with what has been accomplished, of remembering that every lack of responsibility is fraught with great material, social, and moral losses.

Comrade Vayno expressed confidence that all people of Kokhtla-Yarve and Sillamyae and the village toilers have correctly perceived the word of the party and will respond with shock labor, and mark the fourth year of the five-year plan with new great successes.

Then he discussed his deputy's duties, activities of the tenth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and participation of the deputies elected from the Estonian SSR in the work of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from our republic have received in their time 131 mandates from the voters. Now practically all of them have been fulfilled. With the help of the deputies five schools and many kindergartens, stores, and cleaning facilities have been built; the work of public transportation and repair and service establishments has improved, and several housing blocks have been built in addition to the plan. Together with the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic and local soviets, much work has been conducted in comprehensively developing cities and rayons and uniting the efforts of enterprises for resolving questions of construction and living accommodations, municipal, cultural, and household services and utilities. But it must be recognized that there is still much to be done in overcoming bureaucratic disconnection and improving the utilization of the forces and funds at hand.

Now the pre-election campaign is in full swing; candidates are holding meetings with the voters. This is a very responsible stage, when mandates are formulated and observations and suggestions are raised on very different questions. These days the deputies of all soviets and leaders of state enterprises are responding to that which was given them in the period between elections, and discussing which actual problems soviet organs are presently working to resolve.

All pre-election work has been directed, consulting with people of labor, to specifying a new program of action and achieving improvement of all systems of management. I also see our meeting with you today in that course, said the candidate. Not all problems can be solved immediately, not all needs can be satisfied as soon as tomorrow. Part of them will carry over to the future five-year plan, the outlines of which already are being sketched out rather clearly. It must adopt a good handing over of our life today and continue the deep qualitative changes in economy installed in past years. The USSR Supreme Soviet of the eleventh convocation, which will be elected on 4 March, is faced with being occupied in real earnest with questions of the new five-year plan. And that means a great responsibility will rest on the deputies. I am certain that all the candidates well recognize this and are ready to serve the nation selflessly and to fulfill its will.

In conclusion, Comrade Vayno once again thanked those assembled for their high trust and assured them that he would apply all his efforts to justify it.

That very same day Comrade Vayno acquainted himself with the fiberboard factory of the wood slab combine in Pyussi and the hothouse vegetable combine of the Kokhtla-Yarve Sovkhoz. He was interested in the intensity of assimilating the new capacities, met with workers and specialists of these enterprises, and familiarized himself with the conditions of their work and life style.

Comrade Vayno met with party and economic leaders of Kokhtla-Yarve.

Comrade Vayno was accompanied by First Secretary of the Kokhtla-Yarve City Party Committee Ye. Filatov, First Secretary of the Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon Party Committee Yu. Kiysla, and ESSR Minister of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry V. Chernyshev.

REGIONAL

TURKMEN CP CC BURO DISCUSSES EDUCATION WORK

GF110506 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 30 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] A number of questions concerning the party and economic construction in the republic were examined at the regular meeting of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. Measures were specified for consolidating the work of the party and soviet organs of Krasnovod Oblast for preparing working cadres with various professions. It was found necessary to direct the forces of the workers of the vocational and technical education at increasing the effectiveness of the study and educational work, improving the methods of teaching, promoting the quality of training and at the ideological, political, moral and righteous education of young workers.

The Central Committee Bureau required from the party gorkoms and raykoms to strengthen the party control in the sites over the work of the vocational and technical schools, enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes for the labor education of the youths and to take measures to strengthen the links between the schools, vocational and technical institutes and the base enterprises and to improve the organization of the mass cultural and educational work with the studying youths.

A question on further improving the visual agitation and political placard was examined at the meeting. It was noted that the party organizations are still weakly using the capabilities of the visual agitation and political placard in the ideological and mass political work. The visual agitation is often conducted out of touch with the real life. It weakly influences the practical work of the labor collectives and slowly responds to the actual daily questions of the political and cultural level of the Soviet peoples. The Central Committee Bureau drew the attention of the party committees to the necessity of seriously improving the visual agitation and political placard. [These committees] were advised to take practical measures for eliminating the shortcomings available in the visual agitation and for strengthening its influence on the solution of the social, economic and educational tasks and to institute a firm control over the ideological and artistic level of the visual agitation and political placard.

A number of other questions were discussed and relevant resolutions were passed at the meeting.

REGIONAL

VATICAN ROLE IN PRE-SOVIET LITHUANIA ATTACKED

Vilnius SVYTURYS in Lithuanian No 3, Feb 84 (signed to press 6 Feb 84) pp 6-7

[Article by Julius Butenas: "Vatican Slap in the Face to Lithuania"]

[Text] In its broadcasts to Lithuania, Vatican Radio testifies that "in the hearts of many Lithuanians faith and love of God have died out," or, discounting the real progress of materialistic thought in our republic, proclaims its wishes as fact--"the whole Lithuanian nation is faithful to the Apostolic See." In fact, the Vatican's "love" for Lithuania always was and still is selfish.

Led by this "love" the Roman popes proclaimed crusades to the Lithuanian lands--in this way a million of our ancestors were annihilated. Later, after the introduction of Christianity, the church scorned Lithuanian folk traditions, went about destroying the "pagan" culture, and gave its blessing to exploitation through serfdom. Later still, when the nation rose up to the national liberation movement, the priests did not cease in urging the people to pray for "the Russian Caesar."

Nor did the Roman popes worry about the Lithuanian Catholics who carried the yoke of tsarism. When in 1893 the tsar's gendarmes massacred the peasants of Kraziai, Pope Leo XIII chided Lithuania's Catholics and urged them to "faithfully serve God, and to be true and faithful to the almighty caesar."

The Vatican also showed its self-serving love for Lithuania during the years of bourgeois rule. On the basis of the concordat made in 1927, the Vatican interfered in Lithuania's internal and foreign policy. This concordat, as is known, legitimized the exceptional situation of the Catholic Church in the Lithuanian state and accorded it many privileges.

The concordat in question has its own pre-history. It was only at the end of 1922 that the Vatican recognized Lithuania de jure, thus being the last of the bourgeois states to do so. Moreover, the Roman pope gave his blessing to the tearing away of Vilnius and the Vilnius territory from Lithuania--by the Polish-Vatican Concordat of 1925 the Vilnius diocese was subordinated to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Warsaw archdiocese.

The article by writer Julius Butenas published below relates the indignation of various strata of Lithuania's population of that time at the hypocritical policies of the Vatican. The material published here helps to understand why the concordat

between the Vatican and Lithuania could only be signed after restricting democratic freedoms in Lithuania, only after the 1926 fascist coup, which was carried out by the Nationalists with the support of the Christian Democrats.

Leafing Through the Old Press

In 1925 the Vatican signed a concordat with Poland, according to which Lithuania's historical capital Vilnius and the Vilnius territory were acknowledged as belonging to Poland. Before that, bourgeois Poland, as we know, had torn away Vilnius and the surrounding area from Lithuania by force, and Pop Pius XI legitimized and gave his blessing to that predatory action.

Because of this there was a wave of protest at that time throughout Lithuania against the Vatican and the pope, as well as against the clergy. Lithuanian citizens in gatherings and meetings harshly condemned this act of the Vatican that was very insulting to the Lithuanian nation. These events were commented on in an especially lively way in the periodical press of various persuasions.

We will talk a bit through excerpts from newspapers of that day. This is what the clerical daily RYTAS [MORNING] mournfully wrote in its lead article of issue 51, "The Ecclesiastical Division of Lithuania":

"Reluctantly the idea arises that we do not have a Father on earth, not even in Rome, only in heaven.... In this national misfortune we want to call only to our heavenly Father: "O dear God, have mercy! Have pity on that Lithuania which sings Holy God to you!"

How did this happen: could Lithuania's clerics have been so gullible? All the members of government were staunch Catholics. The minister of agriculture was the priest M. Krupavicius, the priests J. Purickis, V. Jurgutis and M. Reinys were by turns ministers of foreign affairs. Why did they not try to forestall the Poles and be the first to make a concordat? Who prevented them from doing so?

It appears that the Catholic government "tried," in its desire to warn the Vatican not to do wrong to Lithuania's Catholics and the nation as a whole. But the pope did not want to speak with the delegation sent by Lithuania's Catholic government. In the same article RYTAS moans on:

"The nation's chosen sons go to the Holy Father to seek solace. The Father does not find words of consolation, silently blesses them after making them kneel and invites them to hear a Mass for Lithuania, whose bloody heart he is preparing to give to the Poles."

Such is the infallible heir of Christ, enlightened by the Holy Spirit!

Indignation at the Pope's Partiality

During that time the Nationalists were also in opposition to the clergy. In the article "Vatican, Vilnius, Lithuania" published in issue 11 of their organ LIETUVIS [THE LITHUANIAN] there was indignation:

"...Our nation's representatives were received like the commonest sanctimonious old woman, in other words, they were equated with sanctimonious old women. For a state spokesman representing the president of Lithuania, to find himself in such a role means nothing more than a great abasement of Lithuania's honor and name."

In the same place we find these lines:

"...In the Protestant country of Latvia, which has only 200 thousand Catholics, an archdiocese is established (or revived), while to Lithuania, which has about a million and a half Catholics, the Vatican did not deign to send a separate representative."

Why? You see, Archbishop A. Zecchini was at that time appointed Vatican representative to the whole Baltic area.

Let us leaf through the pages of history. Did the Lithuanian Government of that time really not take any action to sign a concordat with the Vatican? It appears that it did, that it was preparing the draft of a concordat. The above-mentioned RYTAS explains:

"...The Lithuanian Government is trying to make a concordat, and is proposing that a Lithuanian church province be created.... The Roman delegate Archbishop Zecchini stops the initiated talks, takes on the preparation of a counter-draft, but then quickly suggests that he himself rule certain parts of Lithuania...."

Instead of preparing a draft of the concordat, the archbishop begins to teach the priests Lithuanian orthography!... That's right. RYTAS elucidates in the same article: "The Roman delegate who was sent to administer Lithuania's ecclesiastical affairs does not concern himself with managing fundamental church matters, but was only establishing whether after in the name of God there should be a dash before "the Father," or whether in the prayer Our Father, "on earth" should be in the accusative or locative case.

Well, and in the lead article of issue 52 of RYTAS, "About the Vatican Concordat with Poland," the following conclusion is reached:

"In short, it must be said that the Vatican's Concordat with Poland will not strengthen Catholicism. This new agreement with the Holy Father can be evaluated as a great blow to Catholicism.... Not only will the deeply hurt Lithuanian nation grieve over this concordat, but Catholics worldwide will be unable to rejoice about it, and maybe history will record this document as one of Catholicism's defeats and a political mistake of the Vatican."

Who Was Vindicating the Pope?...

In the bourgeois press of that time we find not only the opinions of the editors themselves but also the declarations of individual persons. For example, in issue 11 of LIETUVIS the writer Romas Striupas spoke out this way in his article "Injuries to Lithuania Caused by the Polish Concordat":

"The pages of the history of our state's rebirth have recorded many injustices from the side of the powerful. However, not one of these was as painful as the one having to do with this concordat.... When the head of the church has his hand in a shameful act and recognizes the right of the powerful to use a bloody fist rather than for the weak to have sacred truth, then not only the enemies of Catholicism but also its friends begin to think that even under the rock of St Peter poisonous evils can breed...."

And the freethinker Jonas Ilgunas in the article "The Pope and the Nation" in No 56 of LIETUVOS ZINIOS [LITHUANIAN NEWS] suggests separating from Rome and organizing a state church, independent of Rome:

"The priests of other nations have had the courage in similar circumstances to break away from the pope of Rome. We will see how our priests act."

Here J. Ilgunas had in mind the example of the English and later the Czech priests--at one time, in disagreement with Vatican politics, they formed separate, state churches.

In LIETUVA [LITHUANIA], the semi-official daily of the bourgeois government, Father J. Purickis, writing under the pseudonym Vygandas, tried in the lead article "What Is to Be Done?" to cool off the hotheads by justifying the Pope and suggesting directions to follow in order to reach the desired goal.

Justifying the Vatican and the Pope, Vygandas says that to no purpose do we envision the Holy Father sitting in the Vatican on the pope's throne with a tiara on his head, about which flutters the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and that led by this spirit, he manages all affairs. The situation is in fact completely different. Popes are usually old men, the church they rule is made up not just of one or two states but of the whole world, and therefore they can only judge and manage the most important church matters by themselves, and only in a groping sort of way at that. Everything else is managed by the staffs of various officials. And officials sometimes do not act in the way that the Holy Spirit or even one's simple conscience dictates. Those who know how better to approach them get what they want. That is why Vygandas suggests that Lithuania too send cunning, brave delegates and representatives to the Vatican to defend their nation's interests.

Now then, at the same time that J. Purickis-Vygandas was teaching Lithuanians "cunning," the Polish clergy were not sleeping. As No 51 of LIETUVOS ZINIOS informs us, Poland's Prime Minister Grabski told a correspondent of the newspaper GAZETA WARSZAWSKA [WARSAW GAZETTE] that the talks with the Pope had been amazingly simple:

"The talks went so fast," boasted Brabski, "that the congregation of cardinals which usually reviews drafts for several months this time finished the matter in one meeting."

This came about because that is the way the Holy Father, who knows the state of Poland's affairs very well, wanted it, and he himself took a lively interest in the concordat and followed the talks."

No 41 of DZIENNIK WILENSKI [VILNIUS DAILY], triumphant about Poland's Concordat with the Vatican, also touches on Lithuania's negotiations on a concordat and maliciously jeers:

"It seems that the Lithuanians (desiring to make a concordat) wanted to achieve political goals and to mark on the map the dreamed-for boundaries of "Great Lithuania." They had to be very foolish and dull to imagine that the Apostolic See, which has some of the best diplomats, would give in so such a poor job."

Thus it is without cause that Vygandas justifies the Pope as not being aware of the situation.

The Clergy Retreats

It should be noted that the clericals wrote a little more widely about the conflict with the Vatican only in the RYTAS daily, while they kept silent about it in most of the weeklies, or if they did write, it was only to defend the Pope. No 3 of the Jezuit ZVAIGZDE [STAR] was openly indignant at those who attacked the Vatican and the Pope:

"The fact that Poland made a treaty with the Apostolic See about the organization of the church in the lands under its jurisdiction has caused great dissatisfaction among us. This matter was immediately exploited by our atheists, socialists and free-thinkers to weaken the people's attachment to their faith. "The Pope has sold Vilnius to Poland!" they trumpet in the people's ears. Not true. The Pope did not sell Vilnius to Poland, nor could he. In that treaty of his, he did not even acknowledge Vilnius to be justifiably taken by Poland. The Holy Father usually does not interfere in quarrels about state boundaries; that is not his affair."

At the end ZVAIGZDE encourages and soothes: "But let us take back that area from Poland (this we must and will do)--and the Pope will only rejoice and will then mark the boundaries of the dioceses as we want them."

In that case, the question arises: how is it that it is already going on 45 years that Vilnius and the Vilnius territory belong to Lithuania, but the Pope has so far not shown any "joy"--the diocesan boundaries in his maps remain the same as the ones he drew up in 1925....

In No 10 of the Christian Democrat Party organ TEVYNES SARGAS [GUARDIAN OF THE HOMELAND] the priest M. Reins, signing himself only as "professor," admitted: "The concordat contains painful things for us Lithuanians, namely, that the Polish hierarchy can interfere too much in the appointment of priests. This can have painful consequences for Lithuanian and Byelorussian priests in the Vilnius area."

Let's take a look at what was discussed in public meetings and demanded in resolutions.

On 8 March 1925 there were big protest meetings against the Vatican in the Rotuse Square and of the People's Club in Kaunas. Most of the speakers were representatives of the Populist and Nationalist Parties. They did, of course,

seize the opportunity to criticize Christian Democratic policies in general. After all, there were to be new parliamentary elections the following year, 1926. Resolutions were passed, demanding that the wrong which had been done be rectified, and if not, to break all ties with the Vatican and to expel its representative from Lithuania.

No 62 of LIETUVOS ZINIOS [LITHUANIAN NEWS] writes about speeches on the concordat issue organized by the liberal student society VARPAS [BELL] in the Town Hall auditorium. University professors took part. Prof A. Janulaitis sketched the legal implications of the concordat and explained broadly and vividly the course Vatican politics throughout history. According to him, the Vatican policy was not to defend those who were wronged but always to uphold the strong in battle. The speaker pointed out that the concordat with Poland weighed heavily on the Lithuanians of the Vilnius territory from the point of view of assimilation. Bishops and priests, relying on the test of the oath in the concordat, are bound to obey the hierarchy and be loyal to Polish authority. In such circumstances even the question of the liberation of Vilnius remains quite difficult until the political situation in general changes.

Agreeing with Prof A. Janulaitis another speaker, Prof M. Birziska, in his lengthy speech vividly showed how the concordat would have negative consequences for the Lithuanian language in the Vilnius territory and how only with the force of a strong will could the Vilnius Lithuanians resist assimilation.

This meeting organized by the BELL student society passed a resolution which proposed raising a protest against the concordat in Lithuania and wherever necessary, reconsidering the question of the Lithuanian Republic's international orientation, recalling our representative from the Vatican, expelling their delegate in Lithuania, Zecchini, and waging a fight with the Vatican and Poland until Vilnius was regained....

The "Revolt" of the Sanctimonious

The police did not allow the resolutions passed at the meetings to be announced publicly. No 55 of LIETUVOS ZINIOS writes:

"It was learned that this resolution has already been handed to Zecchini by a visiting delegation. Zecchini did not receive the delegation and it took a lot of ringing before some man (perhaps his secretary) slightly opened the latticed doors, but did not let the delegation in. Later a quite decent-looking young lady (1) appeared and conversed in Polish.

The young lady is supposed to have suggested to the delegation that it send the resolution by mail; however, the delegation handed the resolution to Zecchini's adjutant through the slit in the opened door."

And in No 57 of the same paper we read this news item:

"Unwarranted behavior. An eye-witness explains that on the evening of 9 March, near the residence of the Jezuit Zecchini, a group of women gathered who engaged in animated conversation and made threats to the Vatican. The women were

apparently throwing something at Zecchini's quarters. It later became known that the windows of Zecchini's residence were broken. Rocks had apparently been thrown into the room."

No 58 of RYTAS wrote about this incident in its lead article "Tactlessness": "Archbishop Zecchini will, of course, have to leave Lithuania. But his departure must be accomplished with a certain orderliness. There is no place for eggs."

After a few days LIETUVOS ZINIOS in its lead article "The Separation of Church and State" admitted: "Zecchini was so profusely greeted by rotten eggs from the most sanctimonious 'zitietes' [members of Zita organization] that the man nearly got sick and, the rumor is, intends to leave Lithuania immediately."

On this occasion LIETUVOS ZINIOS also raised the question of the need to separate church from state, as was done in France and other European countries. The Peasant Populist faction in the Diet handed the prime minister an interpellation concerning Vatican actions and accused the clerical hierarchy of incompetence in handling Lithuanian diplomatic affairs.

The Catholic clergy, of course, were worried that the authority of the head of church had been so shaken in Lithuania. It tried to soften the protests. In order not to lose completely the trust of the masses, the clergy pretended that they also were fighting the unjust Vatican actions.

No 14 of TEVYNES SARGAS printed a 22 March speech by Diet representative Rev A. Smulkstis (whose title is given only as Mr A. Smulkstis) a Marijampole. In the speech he said: "When the Poles made the concordat, our government sounded a harsh note to the Vatican, our delegate to the Vatican resigned and, at the insistence of our government, Archbishop Zecchini will have to leave Lithuania in the near future."

Battered by rotten eggs and stones, the Vatican representative Archbishop Zecchini left Kaunas for Riga. But he was not met with open arms in Riga either. The Latvians considered him to be a politician of pro-Polish and anti-Latvian orientation. Zecchini then settled in Estonia, in Tallinn.

Separate the Church from the State

The underground Lithuanian Communist Party's journal KOMUNISTAS [COMMUNIST], in the article "On the Concordat with Rome," published in 1925, No 2, wrote:

"A concordat is usually useful for priests, but not the wider masses. It is useful also to the bourgeoisie because in return for the concordat the priests promise to dupe the Catholic people better." At the end of the article it is proposed that "First of all, workers must demand the church's separation from the state. Not a single cent must be given from state funds either to the Catholic, the Jewish, the Orthodox, the Calvinist, or any other church. The concordat imposes on working people additional new burdens in the form of increased taxes. For that reason the workers' slogan must be 'Away with the concordat with Rome!' The workers' demand must be: separation of church from state."

The historian P. Pakarklis in his book "Popes--Enemies of the Lithuanian Nation," published in 1948, writes:

"The pope's unfriendliness with respect to Lithuania after the October Revolution was related to the fact that his policy toward the Soviet Union was always hostile, and he considered lordly Poland, not small bourgeois Lithuania, the real force for the realization of anti-Soviet plans. This was the source of the pope's resolution to support Poland everywhere, sacrificing the Lithuanian nation's interests and seeking to subjugate the Lithuanian nation under Poland."

The concordat between Lithuania and the Vatican was concluded only after the fascist coup in 1927. Fascist Prime Minister A. Voldemaras went to Rome without any draft. Talk spread of the concordat signed by the Nationalist government having been copied from Poland's concordat. The Pope's representatives interfered in internal affairs, especially in the area of education and the rearing of youth. The clergy, basing its actions on the concordat, inoculated religious fanaticism and persecuted non-believers. That especially applied to registry matters. In the absence of civil registry, non-believers were forced to have religious weddings, in church, and here priests had the opportunity to mock them--to force them to make confessions of their whole life, etc. The same applied to registration of the newborn--baptism.

Only in 1940, when the Soviet Government was being restored in Lithuania, was the concordat with the Vatican annulled, the church separated from the state and the school from the church. Thus was genuine freedom of conscience realized.

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REGIONAL

POOR STATE OF UKRAINIAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL WRITING DISCUSSED

Kiev LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 23 Feb 84 p 6

[Article by Volodymyr Zdorovega, Lvov: "...and a Lack of Competence: Gains and Losses in Social and Political Writing"]

[Excerpts] No one is satisfied with the state of contemporary Ukrainian social and political journalism; not the writers, not the critics, and most regrettably, not the readers. Writers speak and write about this matter a great deal. The readers, however, express their attitude in the most straightforward manner: they do not buy the books which contain the words "outline" [narys] or "social commentary" [publitsystyka] in the subtitle. In turn, this alerts the book traders and also the publishers. When they have occasion to publish social and political commentary, they prefer to have the word "story" [povist'] in the subtitle...Today the borrowed word "essay" is coming to the rescue. Perhaps because it is unintelligible or fashionable, or perhaps for some other reason, although its meaning is close to what we commonly refer to as publicist's notes and sketches (in the literal translation from the French "essai," it means a trial; in West European literature it is used in connection with philosophical, popular-scientific, critical, and socio-political original compositions written in a witty, cohesive, lively, logical-figurative style).

We won't simplify. Even today there are quite a few documentary-publicistic books which are not gathering dust on the shelves. This can be said about the social and political writing of V. Korotych and V. Yavorivs'kiy. Try to obtain, let's say, Yu. Chernychenko's recently published book "Pro kartoshku" [About Potatoes] with its single meaning subtitle "sketches" [ocherky]. But there are many publicistic works, particularly collected works, resting in bookstores and kiosks with their perfectly respectable, even festive exterior unnoticed. This is a fact that cannot be ignored.

At work here are certain psychological prejudices and inertia stemming from past experience. And if one were to hypothesize that all creations of political and social writers will become unbelievably brilliant from this day forward, inertia will not be overcome at once. And it is not only inertia of preconceived ideas that needs to be overcome. There is an urgent need to raise the quality of that variant of literary writing which rarely can do without such epithets as "battle," "attacking," "reconnoitering," and others, but which do not make us happy.

Politburo Member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the UkCP Central Committee V. V. Shcherbitskiy addressed the widespread shortcomings of contemporary press as well as social and political writing in his speech at the 5th Congress of journalists of the republic. It is unfortunate that many workers of the press, he noted, are unable to penetrate common truths or even just plain primitivism. No less harmful is their grandiloquence, contrivances, and pseudo-pathetics. It is necessary to resolutely put an end to these facts, for the mindless verbal stream devalues the deepest concepts.

Today more than ever, we must approach the assessment of this or that literary phenomena and social and political writing from the position of that high demand which is programmed in the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and other party documents.

The craftsmanship of a publicist naturally includes "to have and to know how," that is, to have something to say and to know how to say it convincingly, comprehensively, and vividly. Social and political commentary--as an original and specific aspect of literary writing--always places a number of additional demands on the author. Particularly, it demands timeliness, conciseness, and specific conclusions.

Therefore, we believe that the art of social and political writing should be viewed as a precise ability to effectively reflect actual problems; to penetrate deeply and competently into the substance of a social phenomenon, reporting it truthfully from party positions; to convey one's ideas courageously, interestingly, argumentatively, convincingly, comprehensively and in perfect literary form, striving for specific practical results in the works.

Thus, a current affairs writer, in contrast to a novelist or a playwright, should think not only of how his word will be reflected in the consciousness of the people but also what kind of specific action it will produce. So, in order to transform a word into action, it must be interesting, it must be perceived, and it must pass through the mind and heart of a person.

It was not my intention to review all the gains and miscalculations of present day social and political writing in these notes. Expose' writing deserves a separate discussion. In this branch of literature there appeared such interesting things as the political novel of Vitaliy Korotych, "Lytse nenavyst;" [The Face of Hate] and books by Mykola Shybyk, Polikarp Shafet, and Mykola Toropovs'skiy. We should discuss separately a series of interesting essays by Roman Fedoriv and some other writers. But the dissatisfaction with the general condition of our social and political writing remains; the work of raising the level of publicistic skill still awaits our literary men.

The general social atmosphere in the nation, increased party demands, and an uncompromising position on shortcomings are excellent reasons for successful advancement in social and political writing. For our literature echoes the needs of the day--it depends on the very writers. Now it is their turn.

REGIONAL

VALUE OF SMUGGLED RELIGIOUS LITERATURE IN ESTONIA REFUTED

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 4 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Oskar Kaareste: "Futile Toil and Tear on Nerves: The Smuggling of Forbidden Publications Into Soviet Estonia"]

[Text] The passenger ship "Georg Ots" gleams in the sun as it approaches Tallinn. There are many tourists on board, more than a thousand. There are those who come for the first time to eye our country. But many come to visit after a long period, having been uprooted by the war, leaving behind homes and homeland. Now, almost half a century later, they are facing a longed and hoped for reunion with relatives, friends, and acquaintances. For some time their eyes have searched for the familiar steeples to rise from the horizon, the Tallinn skyline that decades cannot erase from memory. Photos have shown the many new highrises in Tallinn, but still the search goes on for the known and familiar steeples. And as their contours gradually become clearer, many faces become serious. Reunions, the joy of recognition, embraces.... How difficult all this can be is known only by those who have experienced it.

But the "Georg Ots" is still approaching its home port. And the closer the pier gets, the higher beat the hearts of some tourists. They beat for joy! But then there are those whose hearts beat nervously.

Tallinn is one of the major Soviet tourist towns. The majority of tourists comes to Estonia from countries around the Baltic--Finland, Sweden, GDR, FRG. But a journey to Tallinn is not only undertaken to see the USSR. Some of the scores of buses meeting the Tallinn-Helsinki boat bear Latvian license plates. For them the trip goes on to see life among our neighbors, to examine their cultural riches. The trip from Helsinki to Tallinn is not long, only a few hours. There are those sitting comfortably in the bar, conversing with friends. But there are also those who want to calm a heart beating fearfully with a solution of alcohol.

Among those are naturally the ones who do not come to visit us with a clear conscience. Friends are always welcomed with open arms in the Soviet land--whether the visitor steps for the first time onto our soil or whether he is a frequent tourist--he is always welcome.

But those whose bags or suitcases have items that are prohibited for import into the USSR mutter about our passport check, they do not like the very standard custom procedures. These people are not our friends. Fortunately, there are not many of them, but still....

It is known that our constitution guarantees freedom of religion. We have our congregations, there are churches (although the number of worshippers withers from year to year). The congregations print for their members the necessary number of songsheets, calendars, hymnals, and other publications. For example, a joint hymnal of evangelical Christians, Baptists and Methodists was published in 7000 copies. On the occasion of Martin Luther's 500th birth anniversary the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church consistory published "Luther's Small Catechism." (10,000 copies)

The congregations thus have an opportunity to publish what is needed. And more. Considering the small press runs they have printed several volumes abroad (such as a hymnal in the FRG, etc.). Aware of the meager resources of the congregations they have been accommodated by being allowed to import publications into the USSR custom free. Hymnals and Bibles in Finnish have also been obtained from Finland as needed.

But in spite of all this there are attempts to send us religious literature in several devious ways. And more. Not infrequently even anti-Soviet writings have been found bound between religious covers. Such books, packed in plastic bags or containers have been thrown from ships into the Gulf of Finland, and some such packages have after a long stay in water washed ashore in our land.

The dispatchers of religious literature to the USSR are mainly missionaries who hope to perform a religious "awakening" among those who have become estranged from the church. These very missionaries attempt to find easy prey among tourists heading for the Soviet land who for certain remuneration are willing to take along literature (books, pamphlets, calendars, postcards, etc.). Such stuff is of course noticed by customs and is confiscated as prohibited goods. Usually, it has turned out that no tourist bringing religious literature to our country sees his mission in converting somebody to another faith or to make someone religious in general. Thus their activity is simple smuggling.

Religious literature is of course not imported by accident. The couriers are all aware of the contents of their baggage. Even special vests and leggings are used to get religious books through customs. The contraband is placed in sealed coffee bags, cigarette packs, or cans with some food label. Outwardly all packages look as if they came straight from the factory. But lo and behold!

For example, Anneli Kain, coming from Finland, wore a skirt with special compartments in which five copies of a booklet, "The Life of Jesus," were hidden. There were also religious pamphlets. The official report contained a total of 32 items. Another tourist from the same country, Tuomo Pullinen, had 59 copies of "The Life of Jesus" on him. In addition, tape cassettes with religious messages, calendars, and other items were discovered among his things, a total of 1212 items.

Simo Heikkila from Finland came to visit us with a large suitcase that even had a false bottom for deception. The hidden compartment contained 275 items of prohibited literature (religious manuals, pamphlets, postcards, etc.).

Zigurds Mezitis came from Canada and brought along religious journals published there. One, for example, had 95 pages and he brought 11 copies. So there is

no way that we are dealing with a religious fanatic who diligently examines religious prose on his tourist trip abroad.

Pritta-Margarita Partikson, arriving from Sweden, also accepted a missionary packet. She was told to distribute (where and to whom?) ten copies of the 127 page "Life of Jesus Christ" and an equal number of a booklet, "Creation or Evolution?" The list of publications confiscated from her contained a total of 39 items. The value of such publications is more than questionable. This becomes clear from just a few samples from one booklet. (W. Pratney, "Creation or Evolution?") On page 12 the author writes: "Anthracite coal is only formed when plant residue is unexpectedly submerged and covered by a thick layer of clay or mud, so that the coal being formed is compressed and kept from air contact. It is not possible that the surrounding surface can 'rise and sink gradually' (Lyell's theory)." The last sentence, considered by the author to be the corner stone of his theory, is totally absurd, because we can see the gradual rise and sinking of surface everywhere. We need not even turn to the well-known example of far-off Holland, we can see it right here in Tallinn. The capital of our republic rises by about 2 mm every year. Archeological excavations have also shown that the Strand Porte, built in the Middle Ages, used to be on the waterline.

Page 14 states that 250 million year old human footprints have been found in rocks. And it continues: "If man existed already in the carboniferous age, then the entire geology is false and the only thing left for geologist to do would be to change their profession and become soil cultivators. But to date science disputes that these mystical prints have been left by man." Here too the author can be faulted committing a logical error. It is known that the carboniferous era began 345 million years ago and lasted for 65 million years. But we know that man's ancestors have existed for only some 4 million years.

One more example from page 25: "For 375 days water covered the planet, completely submerging the lower hills. As a result of pressure of a 1500 to 3000 meter column of water, forests became fossilized and wood petrified." How simple all this seems to W. Pratney. Of course, nothing of the kind could happen in so short a time. Were it otherwise, scientists would have duplicated this practically, considering how easy it would be to do with modern technical means.

All of the stories of "the day of judgment of the antediluvian world," of Noah and his family's ark, etc., etc., are simply naive. At every opportunity the author attempts to add to these fantasies: "According to this the theory of evolution must be totally abandoned." Consequently, believe in the creative power of what the Bible says, not in evolution that states reality as it is: Life has evolved from lifeless matter and all organisms are results of a long, gradual development influenced by natural factors.

Sending such books to our people can only be considered an attempt to make us fools. It is well known that in the USSR alone 11 books per person are published annually. In 1983 the total number of copies printed was 17 million. Our publications have raised the people's awareness so much that about booklets such as the vacuous "Creation or Evolution?" and others it can be said: Money spent printing them has been wasted.

REGIONAL

NEW BOOK RE-ADDRESSES ISSUES OF GEORGIAN-BASQUE ETHNIC TIES

Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 45, 7-12 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Aleksandr Mendeleyev, doctor of historical sciences under the rubric "Searches and Discoveries": "Where do the Basques Come From?"]

[Text] I have in front of me Aleksandr Kiknadze's novel 'Brod cherez Aragoa' [Wandering Through Aragoa] published by Molodaya gvardiya. I leaf through the pages, but my mind keeps returning to that day, nearly twenty years ago, when the writer brought the article "Where Do the Basques Come From?" to the editorial staff of NEDELYA.

There is a hypothesis according to which Iberians of the Pyrenees, the Basques, and Iberians of the Caucasus, the Georgians, at one time were one large tribe. What made these people separate and settle in areas amazingly similar in relief and climatic conditions, located at opposite ends of a mountain system crossing all of the European continent? Why do the Basques and Georgians have so much in common in appearance and character, language and traditional ways of management--so much in common with each other, but at the same time different from the peoples surrounding them in the Pyrenees and the Caucasus?

Aleksandr Kiknadze wrote about this in NEDELYA at the time that the impressions of his trip to Spain and his meetings with Basques were still fresh.

Twenty years--this is not a long time, particularly if one takes into consideration that the questions, posed in that article, have interested scholars as far back as twenty centuries ago. (In any case, these are the dates for the written sources which have reached us; for example, Mark Varron's "Drevnosti" [Antiquities], in which this Roman poet and historian, who lived in the 1st century B.C. contended that the Basques and Georgians have one country of origin). In twenty years much can be accomplished when a talented writer, with enviable energy and considerable scientific erudition, tackles a job.

During these years Kiknadze wrote a whole series of articles and feature stories on the problem that has concerned him--he has been published in NEDELYA and the magazine TEKHNKA-MOLODEZHI, in Moscow and local newspapers, and has been reprinted in Spain and other countries. Through his publications one can see how his scientific search has constantly expanded, involving in his work new researchers and new confirmations of the hypothesis.

Everything has been collected or at least almost everything, in which scholars of different times and peoples speak of the Basque origin puzzle. It was found that, as early as the 10th century, the Georgians remembered their kinsmen who set forth beyond the sea to seek their fortune. Many curious facts and conjectures are found in the works of Spanish, French and English experts interested in the Basques.

Some of our own countrymen have also left authoritative evidence. For example, we can refer to the great Soviet linguist, Academician N. Ya. Marr, who made a special trip to the Basques, living in France, and called his feature story about this "Iz Pireneyskoy Guri" [From Guriya in the Pyrenees]. One can recall the marvelous observations made by Academician N. I. Vavilov, who discovered in the north of Spain varieties of wheat, related to Georgian wheats but, not to any others. (Moreover, the traditional agrotechnical methods of cultivating and processing this wheat, common to the Basques and Georgians, were not observed by N. I. Vavilov in any of the other sixty countries which he has studied). Finally, the opinion of the well known expert of the Ancient East, Academician M. A. Korostovtsev, can be presented; he wrote "these stubborn, but amazing facts of ethnographic and linguistic similarity between the Basques of the Pyrenees' peninsula on one hand, and the Abkhazians and Georgians, on the other hand, certainly are not accidental."

Incidentally, Mikhail Aleksandrovich Korostovtsev wrote these words in the afterword of that very article that Aleksandr Kiknadze wrote in NEDELYA. I recall that the editorial workers found the conclusions of the article's author so unexpected that they asked an authoritative specialist to review them.

Now, years later, Kiknadze himself has become an indisputable authority in this field and Basque specialists of other countries turn to him for advice. One can safely maintain that his first article in NEDELYA opened a new stage in the research of the historical puzzle.

What are the characteristics of the present stage?

First of all, it is characterized by extensive and comprehensive scientific searches; a time when specialists of various specialties--historians, linguists, ethnographers, anthropologists--became involved in the research. Professor Il'ya Tabagua has written a monograph on the French Basques. Yuriy Zytsar' and Greta Chantladze of Tbilisi University created "Vvedenie v baskiy yazyk" [Introduction to the Basque Language] with a Basque-Georgian dictionary which, by the way, has more than 360 identical words. (Now more than 400 words have been established). A substantial collection "Baskiy yazyk i basksko-gruzinskaya gipoteza" [The Basque Language and the Basque-Georgian Hypothesis] has appeared under the editorship of the Georgian academician Arnol'd Chikobav. Also, other works have been published and other discoveries made, often quite amazing.

For example, Professor Mikhail Shengeliya, a specialist in the history of medicine, actually proved the "blood relationship" of the Basques and Georgians: the blood groups characteristic for these two peoples are not found anywhere else in Europe.

In characterizing the present stage of the search one has to mention that present day scholars are helped in their work by hundreds of selfless enthusiasts; and, probably, much of this is due to the influence of the articles and feature stories, published by Aleksandr Kiknadze, that have aroused in people of different ages and passions sincere sympathy for the far away and proud people, and at the same time a deep interest in one's own native history. I used to come across enthusiasts of the Society for Furthering the Study of the Basque Language and Culture, created in Tbilisi by a resolution of the Academy of Sciences; and, I had the opportunity to see with what genuine enthusiasm these people search out similar words in the Basque and Georgian dialects, plan trips to remote mountain settlements during their vacations, and try to decipher inscriptions, carved on the walls of ancient temples. Indeed, one has to believe that every person should have his own "special quest," otherwise life flows by much more rapidly and a person does not discover all his spiritual reserves.

The spirited discussions with Shota Vasil'yevich Khvedelidze through half the night are unforgettable. This no longer young man, an experienced engineer-builder, happened to see a photocopy of the famous "Bronzy iz Botoritty" [Bronzes from Botoritta] published by Aleksandr Kiknadze and he was overcome by a burning desire to decipher the inscription on the plate. Not only didn't the fact that many specialists from different countries have been working unsuccessfully on the Iberian discovery, one English scholar shot himself in the head in desperation after twenty five years of persistent work, stop Khvedelidze, but I think it challenged the Tbilisi enthusiast. He studied the works of his predecessors, became convinced of the hopelessness of deciphering the Iberian inscription on the basis of the Summerian language as well as the Celtic and Etruscan languages, and decided to find the key in the Old Georgian language.

And, he found this key. Actually, it would be better to say that he considers the found key to be correct, since the discovery still requires comprehensive critical checking and confirmation with new examples. But, one thing can already be said for sure now: the work carried out by the engineer-enthusiast, when judged by the highest standard, is worthy of being called scientific.

What was Shota Khvedelidze able to read on the mysterious plate? Briefly the story is that a certain wise man, Rio, warned his tribesmen of an earthquake to take place soon, and the people decided to leave their settled places to look for the promised land. Can this be why the Basques call themselves "euskaldun," which may be interpreted as "those who left the east?" Doesn't this name sound like an echo of that march? And, isn't the story, read by Shota Khvedelidze, proof that the people decided to imprint the most important information about themselves on a bronze plate?

There is still one other characteristic feature of present stage research on the puzzle of the Basque-Georgian historical kinship. This is the active response to the works of Soviet scholars and enthusiasts displayed by the Basque specialists of Spain and France, England and Mexico. Interest is shown not only by scholars, but by the general public. In Spain the book of Tbilisi Academician Sh. V. Dzidziguri entitled "Gruzinskiy yazyk" [The Georgian Language], in which the hypothesis of the commonality of the two languages is

discussed, has been translated. The "Basques and Georgians" soiree held at the Madrid Palace of Culture, Science and Arts was very successful. The Academy of Basque Language has established business relations with the Tbilisi Association. The well known poet and writer, Kh. Kintana, is translating into the Basque language the immortal poem of Shota Rustaveli "Vityaz v tigrovoy shkure" [The Knight in the Tiger Skin].

Isn't it a curious fact that the Aleksandr Kiknadze article from NEDLEYA was reprinted in a Basque patriot journal called ARAGOA? Aragoa is a tributary of the Ebro River, just as Aragvi is a tributary of the Kura River.

And, doesn't the simple letter of an unknown Basque by the name of Khuan, read on Moscow radio, touch the depth of one's soul? Khuan, after hearing the radio broadcast, confirmed from far Bilbao that everything in the hypothesis about Basque-Georgian kinship is completely true, and that he himself knows about this from the legends, handed down by the people living in his village. Maybe, this letter is also proof of the fact that people preserve information about their origins in oral traditions.

But, probably the most important fact for today is that in different countries people see, behind the interest in the historical puzzle, a real display of longing for peaceful contact and cultural cooperation that is natural for all peoples.

Doctor Manuel de Aranegi, a wonderful man and scholar, has spoken and written about this in his letters to Moscow; this man has done much for developing scientific and cultural ties between our countries. Doctor de Aranegi, an important political activist and a deputy of the Spanish Cortes, had participated in the preparations for the General European Conference in Helsinki. He understood very well that only peace and security can ensure free development to all peoples. He also actively fought for peace and dreamed, up to the time of his death, of participating in the comprehensive international expedition for studying questions of Basque-Georgian kinship. He busily prepared for such an expedition, studied the Georgian language, and was already able to write Russian fairly well in his last letters to Aleksandr Kiknadze. In our days the writer Aleksandr Kiknadze has become the actual "knight" of this idea.

The hypothesis of the origin of the Pyrenees' Iberians is one of those kinds of scientific ideas that is capable of completely absorbing a man, who is in the field of their attraction--all the history of those studying the Basques, including a number of bright scholars who devoted their lives to this problem, confirms this.

Now there is a novel. The scientific hypothesis which fascinates the author has been widely expanded in the novel, and this fact alone makes Kiknadze's book extraordinarily interesting. However, I would not like to give the impression that the author has only tried to produce a book of scientific popularization. First of all, his book is an artistic creation. I will not attempt to examine in detail the literary merits of the novel, but I think I would not be wrong if I said that the striking types of people, absorbed in scientific search, and the international patriots, willing to undergo the greatest sacrifices to pursue their idea, will not leave any of the readers indifferent; and, the turns of fate of the main hero of the novel, Otar Devdariani, can make even the most avid buff of television serial adventures hold his breath.

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